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MILOŠ M. VELIMIROVIĆ

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CARSTEN HØEG, OLIVER STRUNK, H. J. W. TILLYARD, EGON WELLESZ
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1960

STUDIES ON THE
FRAGMENTA CHILIANDARICA PALAEOSLAVICA
I

BYZANTINE ELEMENTS IN EARLY SLAVIC CHANT: THE HIRMOLOGION

BY

MILOŠ M. VELIMIROVIĆ

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EDITORIAL NOTE

The present Volume IV of the series SUBSIDIA, comprising a Main Volume and a Volume of Appendices, is, like the double-volume V of the main series of the MON. MUS. BYZ., the result of collaboration between THE DUMBARTON OAKS RESEARCH LIBRARY AND COLLECTION (TRUSTEES FOR HARVARD UNIVERSITY) and the SLAVIC DEPARTMENT of HARVARD UNIVERSITY and MONUMENTA MUSICAE BYZANTINAE. The costs of the publication have largely been defrayed by the two Harvard institutions; a considerable subsidy has been contributed by the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES.

The book is a sort of companion to the tome B of MON. MUS. BYZ. Vol. V. But, as it is a part of the Harvard thesis of Dr. Velimirović, it naturally places some of the problems raised by the Chiliandari Hirmologium (Vol. V, B) in a large frame-work, concerning the general study of the Byzantine elements of early Slavic chant, while it leaves out other problems.

It is our intention to publish other chapters of Dr. Velimirović's thesis, in a revised and enlarged form, in further volumes of the SUBSIDIA series; one of these will contain, besides Dr. Velimirović's contributions, papers by other scholars, and will treat the Chiliandari Sticherarium (Vol. V, A) as well as the Hirmologium; another will contain Indices of Canons and Hirmi from the principal manuscripts of the Greek and the Slavonic traditions.

Special information concerning the appendices of the present publication is given in the Editorial Note of the Volume of Appendices.

We wish to express our cordial thanks to Professor Roman Jakobson, who has been kind enough to revise Chapter IV of the present book.

Dire necessity has forced me to do the drawing for the blocks; I apologize for the lack of craftmanship.

Copenhagen, Summer 1960

CARSTEN HØEG

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To my Mother
and to my sponsors
Professor and Mrs. Albert Bates Lord

PREFACE

The main bulk of the text of this volume has been drawn from my doctoral dissertation for Harvard University. In the years since it was presented a number of additional materials has come to my attention and results of later work are incorporated, primarily in Chapters II and III which contain a thoroughly revised version of some five chapters of the original text. Since 1958 when the manuscript was accepted for publication some minor editing of the text has taken place without changing the substance nor incorporating data obtained after that year.

The transliterations of Russian texts and names follow the transliteration scheme of the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. All titles of books and articles in Slavic languages are translated in the bibliography.

References to manuscripts use the commonly accepted abbreviations with a few additional ones for manuscripts hitherto unused or seldom quoted. A full list of all sigla is given in the index.

Musical examples in the text, besides illustrating tentative attempts at transcription, aim primarily to present the melodic outlines as recorded in various manuscripts. With this purpose in mind the absence of accentual marks (*e.g.* for oxeia or petaste) should not be interpreted as a departure from or disagreement with the accepted principles of transcription of the Middle Byzantine neumatic notation.

It is a pleasure and a privilege to acknowledge my deep gratitude to Professor Egon Wellesz of Oxford University who introduced me to the field of Byzantine Music and whose enthusiasm and acumen were a constant inspiration to me.

The incentive for this work came from Professor Roman Jakobson of Harvard University who suggested the topic and loaned the microfilm of the manuscript from Chilandar before its publication in facsimile.

To Professors Oliver Strunk of Princeton University, Alfred J. Swan of Swarthmore College and Kenneth J. Levy of Brandeis University I owe thanks for their willingness to share information and insights gained in their research.

I am indebted to Professor Carsten Høeg of the University of Copenhagen not only for his hours of trial in seeing such a complex volume through the press, but also for the offer of the use of his library and for his generous assistance during my stay in Copenhagen.

My research was greatly stimulated by the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection in Washington, D.C. (Trustees for Harvard University) where I enjoyed the privilege of working as a Junior Fellow. The continuous encouragement of both resident and visiting scholars and the unexcelled library facilities of this institution are highly appreciated.

For their generous grants and contributions which made the publication of this volume possible I owe heartfelt thanks to the American Council of Learned Societies, to the Publications Committee of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library, to the Slavic Department of Harvard University and to the editorial board of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae.*

I am most indebted to Professor and Mrs. Albert Bates Lord of Harvard University, without whose sponsorship and continuous personal interest my studies at Harvard University never would have been possible. It is as a small token of gratitude that this volume, besides its dedication to my mother, is dedicated to both of them.

May 1960 MILOŠ M. VELIMIROVIĆ

INTRODUCTION

The study of the Russian Chant of the Middle Ages is a little known branch of contemporary musicology. The Russians were among the first to study it, and within the last few years their ranks were joined by a number of Western scholars. A critical analysis of books and articles dealing with this Chant discloses that the majority discusses it as recorded and practiced, not in the Middle Ages, but in the last two or three centuries. Only a few scholars ventured to express their conjectures about the medieval Chant, and then by inference, without an actual attempt at establishing the meaning or offering transcriptions of the medieval neumatic notation.

The reasons for this neglect are multiple. In the first place, a language not commonly known in the West is a barrier to a Western scholar. The limited accessibility of Russian musical manuscripts dating from the Middle Ages represents another obstacle. The greatest hurdle, however, is the neumatic notation, visually akin to that of the Byzantine musical manuscripts, but with deviations which make it difficult to understand.

The investigation of the Byzantine Chant is relatively new as compared with the study of the Gregorian Chant. The Latin language, used in the Gregorian Chant, played the important role of a unifying element among various peoples under the spiritual authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Within the realms in which the Eastern Orthodox Churches held sway national languages were used in the services. The basic concepts of the ecclesiastical structure of the Eastern Orthodox Churches differ from those of the Roman Catholic Church. While the latter recognizes the authority of the Pope as Supreme Pontiff, each of the Orthodox Churches is a national entity with its own hierarchy.

Russian sources are quite explicit in acknowledging the acceptance of Christianity from the Byzantine Empire. Within the next

few centuries, along with the translation and adaptation of Greek Church books, Russian literature came into being. There is every reason to believe that Greek musical manuscripts and tradition were also accepted by the Russians. Despite the difficulties involved in the translation of church poetry, because of the union of text and music in the Greek original, the translators were very successful, as recent research has disclosed (1). In many instances the translation has preserved the same number of syllables in line after line. Furthermore, the rhythm of the meter has been preserved, as the disposition of accents testifies.

The origin of the neumatic notation in Slavic manuscripts has been a subject of discussion in Russia. It was even implied at one time that the neumes were of Russian origin and subsequently "exported" to Byzantium and accepted by the Greeks from the Russians (2). It is obvious that such a hypothesis could have originated only among poorly informed scholars, and at a time when knowledge of the Byzantine neumatic notation was extremely limited. There is no doubt today that the musical notation in Slavic manuscripts is definitely of Byzantine origin.

Besides the notation in Slavic manuscripts, a glance at any page reveals the use of eight *modes*, which the Greeks called *echoi* and the Slavs translated literally as *glasi*. Here are two distinctly Byzantine elements in the Slavic Chant, yet scholars have determined neither the stage of the Byzantine neumatic notation borrowed by the Russians, nor whether the *echoi* and *glasi* are equivalent in the two Chants. A critical comparative study of these Chants could not have been conducted by Russians in the nineteenth or beginning of the twentieth century, since Byzantine music was still an enigma. After the key for transcription of the neumatic notation in Byzantine manuscripts was discovered, and when positive results could have been expected, research in the Slavic Chant in Russia had fallen into neglect. Simultaneously an interest in Russian medieval

(1) Carsten Høeg, "Quelques remarques sur les rapports entre la musique ecclésiastique de la Russie et la musique byzantine", Πεπραγμένα τοῦ θ' Διεθνοῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, II (Athens, 1956), pp. 120–24. Especially p. 123: "Il est presque incroyable qu'on a réussi à rendre dans une langue sans histoire littéraire, des tours et des expressions de la plus grande subtilité".

(2) See below p. 27, n. 30.

Chant was gaining ground among Western scholars. The fortunate rediscovery of two Slavic musical manuscripts in the library of the Monastery Chilandar on Mount Athos, and their recent publication in the Main Series of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* served as a new stimulus to research.

This volume is a result of an investigation of one of the two Slavic manuscripts from Chilandar, the Hirmologion. According to palaeographical and philological analysis, this manuscript was written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, during a period when important changes were taking place in the development of Byzantine neumatic notation. The neumes, which originally indicated only the direction of the melodic movement, were acquiring a precision which determined exact interval relationships. The value of the Chilandar Hirmologion will increase considerably if it can be transcribed. The aims of this study are, therefore, to determine whether it is possible to transcribe into present day musical notation neumes which resemble an early stage of Byzantine neumatic notation, and whether there is any similarity between the modes in the Byzantine and Slavic Chants.

In order to consolidate the results of former research, a critical survey was made of all available literature on the Russian Chant. During the investigations a number of similarities between the Slavic hirmologia and Greek manuscripts of Palestinian origin became apparent. This discovery led to a re-examination of contacts which the Russians maintained with other Christian communities, as well as with Constantinople, following their conversion to Christianity.

CHAPTER I

SLAVS AND CHRISTIANITY

Compared with other ethnic groups, the Slavs appeared relatively late on the historical scene of Europe (1). Scholars do not agree on their origin, nor where their original settlements were. Their first contacts with the remnants of the then disintegrating Roman Empire date from the beginning of the sixth century. At about that time the Slavs started their major migrations from the vast regions north and northeast of the northern slopes of the Carpathian mountains and dispersed in three main directions. Those Slavic tribes whic migrated toward the Baltic Sea and toward the West are nowadays called the Western Slavs. Among these are the Poles, Czechs, Moravians, Slovaks, and a small ethnic group of Lusatian Sorbs.

Another group of tribes, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, settled south of the Western Slavs in the Pannonian Plain and on the western half of the Balkan Peninsula. Other Slavic tribes living east of the Serbs were conquered in the course of the seventh century by the Bulgars, a non-Slavic tribe, from the lower Volga River in Russia. Although the Bulgars imposed their rule on the Slavic population, they became merged with them and created another Slavic ethnic group, the Bulgarians.

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(1) There is a fairly extensive body of literature in Western European languages on the history of the various Slavic peoples. Comparative studies covering the history of all the Slavs are scarce. Among the books available in English, the most valuable and important are the studies of František [Francis] Dvornik. See his *The Slavs, Their Early History and Civilization* ("Survey of Slavic Civilization", Vol. II, Boston, 1956) with its exhaustive list of sources and bibliography, pp. 342–71, primarily in non-Slavic languages. As a survey of early Slavic civilization, Lubor Niederle's *Manuel de l'antiquité slave*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1923–26), is still indispensable.

Still other Slavs migrated toward the East and Northeast, to the plains between the Carpathian and the Ural Mountain ranges. These tribes later divided into Great Russians, Little Russians or Ukrainians, and White Russians or Byelorussians.

At the end of the sixth century the Eastern Roman Empire was engaged in intermittent wars for the defense of its outposts on the Danube against the penetration of the Slavs. It is from this period, during the reign of the Emperor Mauricius, that Slavs are mentioned for the first time in connection with music. The Byzantine writer Theophylact Simocatta records that three Slavs with musical instruments were captured by the imperial forces (2). Slavic historians of the last century tried to exploit this reference for various purposes. It was used by some as proof of the "peace-loving" nature of the Slavs, who did not know how to handle weapons, but instead led a peaceful life rejoicing in music. It served for others as support for the thesis of "inherent" feeling for music among the Slavs. It would seem that this interesting but trivial incident has been given undue significance.

When the Slavic migrations took place Christianity was already fairly well established in both Southern and Western Europe. It is quite unlikely that the Slavs on entering these territories had no contacts with Christians. Yet there is no record of their conversion during this period. In the next few centuries missionaries subservient to Rome and Constantinople established contacts with the Slavs.

The Western Slavs, more specifically the Moravians, were the first to embrace Christianity. Their teachers, subsequently considered Slavic Apostles and Saints, were two Greeks, Constantine and Methodius, who preached and performed the liturgy in the Slavic language (3). For the Slavs this use of national language played an important role in their acceptance of Christianity from the Greeks. The Latin liturgy brought by the Salzburg missionaries, all of whom were Germans, was not understood by the Western Slavs, who, in addition, had strong suspicions that the missionary

(2) *Theophylacti Simocattae Historiarum Libri Octo*, ed. Bekker (Bonn, 1834), pp. 243–44.

(3) The most authoritative studies on Constantine and Methodius are those by F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXème siècle* (Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'études slaves, IV, Paris, 1926), and *Les Légendes de Constantine et de Méthode, vues de Byzance* ("Byzantinoslavica", Supplementa I, Prague, 1933).

work of these monks served as a means for infiltration of German political influence.

The arrival of Constantine and Methodius, about 863 A. D., in the land of the Moravians, aroused strong opposition on the part of the Western missionaries, who accused the two Greeks of heretical teaching, since they brought service books translated into Slavic. Summoned to Rome, Constantine and Methodius were successful in their defense, and obtained papal permission to continue their missionary work. Before departing from Rome in 869 Constantine died. Shortly before his death he had become a monk under the name of Cyril, and the Slavic alphabet of later times is called the *cyrillic* alphabet in memory of his missionary activities (4).

As long as Methodius lived, he and his pupils were active among the Western Slavs. After Methodius' death in 885, the German missionaries reconquered the land of the Western Slavs and expelled his disciples, who sought refuge among the Southern Slavs. The arrival of Methodius' disciples meant final establishment of Christianity among the Bulgarians and its growing influence among the other Southern Slavs (5).

The Eastern Slavs had achieved a political union during the ninth century that led to the creation of an organized state. Their settlements were scattered along the traditional trade routes which followed the courses of the great rivers. One of the main routes was that connecting the inhabitants of Northern Europe, the Scandinavian countries, with the Byzantine Empire. It is quite likely that some of the earliest traces of Christianity in Russia were due to contacts established with traveling merchants.

A record is preserved that a Russian Princess, Olga, was converted to Christianity in Constantinople in the middle of the tenth century (6). Yet it was only when the ruler himself became a Christian that the Russian people were "officially" converted. The

(4) G. Il'inskiĭ, "Gde, kogda, kem i s kakoiu tseliu glagolitsa byla zamenena 'kirilitsei'?" *Byzantinoslavica*, III (1931), pp. 79–88 (with a French summary).

(5) A good summary of events is given by Methodie Kusseff, "St. Clement of Ochrida", *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XXVII (London, 1948–49), pp. 193–215, particularly pp. 193–96.

(6) *Povest Vremennykh Let*, translated [in modern Russian] by D. S. Likhachev and B. A. Romanov, Vol. I (Moscow–Leningrad, 1950), pp. 44 and 241. See also the commentary by Likhachev in Vol. II, pp. 306–08. There is an English translation available, *The Russian Primary Chronicle, Laurentian Text,*

date of that "official" conversion is by tradition 988, when Prince Vladimir was baptized by the Greeks in order to marry the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor (7). After his conversion Vladimir was very zealous in spreading Christianity throughout his domains.

The aftermath of the conversion of the Russians to Christianity poses several questions. One of them concerns the language used in the religious services. There is documentary evidence of Greek clergy going to Russia at the time of the conversion. During the following two centuries the majority of bishops and archbishops were Greeks appointed by the Patriarch of Constantinople. It is probable that they took with them a number of Slavic church books from Bulgaria and Macedonia, where Christianity had been introduced some time earlier. In view of the fact that the higher clergy were Greeks, who needed some time to master the language of the new environment, it may be surmised that some kind of bi-lingual service was used, at least for a limited time. This supposition finds support in at least one manuscript in which there are Greek words written in Cyrillic characters (8). There is no way of determining

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transl. and ed. S. H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., [The Mediaeval Academy of America] 1953), p. 80.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*, Lib. II, cap. 15 (Bonn, 1829), p. 594, refers to Olga's visit to Constantinople and mentions a priest in her retinue, which would seem to imply that she was already converted to Christianity. For a discussion of this question see *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 239–40. That Olga gave a rich gift to the Church of St. Sophia may be inferred from the description of the travels of the later Archbishop Anthony of Novgorod, who, during his visit to Constantinople about the year 1200, saw there "her" golden plate with the "image of Christ" on a jewel. See *Kniga Palomnik, Skazanie miest sviatykh vo Tsariegradie, Antoniia Arkhiepiskopa Novgorodskago v 1200 godu*, ed. Kh. M. Loparev ("Pravoslavnyi Palestinskiĭ Sbornik", Vol. XVII, fasc. III, St. Petersburg, 1899), p. 4. A French translation of this description is available: *Itinéraires Russes en Orient*, trans. Mme. B. de Khitrowo, Vol. I/1 (Geneve, 1889), p. 88.

(7) For an account of discussions concerning the date—988 or 989—see Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (London, Polish Research Centre Ltd., 1949), pp. 172–73.

(8) A manuscript known as *Blagoveshchenskiĭ kondakar′*, which now is in the Public Library in Leningrad under the number Q. π. I, No. 32, folios 114, 116, 118, 121, etc. Cf. Makariĭ, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, II (1st ed.), pp. 247–50 and 254. See also V. Metallov, *Bogosluzhebnoe pienie* (2d ed., Moscow, 1912), p. 33, note 39. A reproduction of one page is available in: Carsten Høeg, "The Oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXIX (1953), plate No. IV following p. 66.

today the length of such a transitional stage during which two liturgical languages were used.

During the reign of Vladimir's son Yaroslav, there was great activity in translating books from Greek into Slavonic (9). In this process a literary language developed in Russia and the role of Southern Slavic books, originally brought after Vladimir's conversion, diminished considerably.

Another consequence of the conversion of Russia to Christianity was the gradual development of ties between the Slavs and other Christian centers and shrines. According to tradition, Vladimir, in his newly acquired zeal, sent emissaries to Jerusalem, Egypt, Rome and Babylon (10). This information is derived from a sixteenth century document, *Stepennaia kniga*, which cannot be accepted as

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(9) *Povest Vremennykh Let*, I, 102–03 (see also p. 302). "I bie Iaroslav liubia tserkovnyia ustavy, popy liubiashe po veliku, izlikha zhe chernoriztsie, i knigam prilezha, i pochitaia e chasto v nosht i v dne. I sobra pistsie mnogy i prekladashe ot grek na slovenskoe pis′mo. . . . Iaroslav zhe sei, iakozhe rekokhom, liubim bie knigam, i mnogy napısav polozhi v sviatiei Sofyi tserkvi, iuzhe sozda sam". Cf. *Povest*, II, 376–77.

The English translation of this text in *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, pp. 137–38, runs as follows: "Yaroslav loved religious establishments and was devoted to priests, especially to monks. He applied himself to books, and read them continually day and night. He assembled many scribes and translated from Greek into Slavic. . . . Thus Yaroslav, as we have said, was a lover of books, and as he wrote many, he deposited them in the church of St. Sophia, which he himself had founded".

(10) *Kniga Stepennaia tsarskago rodosloviia soderzhaschchaia istoriiu rossiĭskuiu*, edited by G. F. Miller (Moscow, 1775), chap. 67, p. 170. See also *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, Vol. XXI, Pt. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1908), p. 68. Part of the text reads:

"Poslanie v razlichnyia strany

I povsiudu poslashe gostei i poslov svoikh, idiezhe est blagochestivaia viera Khristianskaia, vo Ierusalim zhe i vo Egipet, da i tamo uvieste bogougodnikh muzhei prebivanie i tserkovnoe blagolepie, da otvsiudu pol′zu preobriashchet."

A free translation of the text:

"The Missions to different lands.

And they sent distinguished people and their emissaries to all places wherein is the mild and honorable Christian religion, to Jerusalem and to Egypt, in order that they should learn about the abode of men dear to God and about the sublime beauty of the Church and that they should derive benefit from everywhere."

completely reliable. The reference deserves mention because it may reflect a not unusual anachronism in an oral tradition. It is clear that the eleventh century was a turning point in Russia's cultural history, and it is worth noting that the earliest extant Russian manuscripts, including the oldest musical manuscripts, are dated from this time.

In connection with music, another reference from *Stepennaia kniga* may be mentioned. According to this document, three singers with their families came from the Greeks to Kiev around 1051. This fact is mentioned in the *Nikonov Chronicle* as well, but *Stepennaia kniga* adds that from that time onwards the "well-ordered chant in eight modes, the sweet tripartite singing and the best demestveny chant" were introduced in Russia by these three Greek singers. This sentence provoked many discussions (especially during the nineteenth century) concerning the nature of the Russian Chant. The controversial statement about the "tripartite singing", must be treated as a later interpolation as Stasov has proven so convincingly (11).

There is no question that three Greek singers (or even more) may have come to Russia bringing with them the Chant they knew. Unfortunately, there are no available studies on the Chant as it was practiced in Constantinople in the tenth and eleventh centuries (12).

(11) V. V. Stasov, "Zamietky o demestvennom i troestrochnom pienii", *Izviestiia Imperatorskago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*, V (1865), pp. 225–54. This article is reprinted in *Sobranie sochineniĭ V. V. Stasova*, III (St. Petersburg, 1894), cols. 107–28.

Stasov explains (cols. 125–26) that the scribes, in the sixteenth century, when compiling this document, may, in copying it, have elaborated the source which they were copying, seeking to interpret it. When it came to the point of describing the acceptance of music from the Greeks, the scribes were writing about the music *using terms known to them in the sixteenth century*. In support of his thesis Stasov gives a long list of books on music that were all printed within a relatively short space of time in Germany and Poland and contained, among other things, some sections on Boethius and his division of music into *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*. This concept of three parts, according to Stasov, may have been the source of the term *tripartite* in the *Stepennaia kniga*. Stasov's interpretation was ignored by Russian historians of music, who found a less mundane explanation of this term, seeing in it proof of the existence of harmony (as they understood it in the *nineteenth* century!) in the Middle Ages.

(12) Some interesting information may be obtained in two of the studies dealing with the semi-secular and semi-religious ceremonies in the Byzantine court: Jacques Handschin, *Das Zeremonienwerk Kaiser Konstantins und die sangbare Dichtung* (Basel, 1942); Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), with M. Bukofzer's transcriptions of the musical examples.

It is known that several Greek singers in Russia became bishops (13).

Once converted to Christianity the Russians exercised great zeal in the performance of their religious duties. In the middle of the eleventh century a small community of hermits had already been established, which gradually formed around itself the first monastery in Kiev. The leading spirit of that group was the monk Antonius, who had taken his vows in the Great Laura of Saint Athanasius on Mount Athos (14). One of his closest associates and successors, Theodosius, is reported to have sent a special envoy to make a copy of the basic monastic rules then prevalent in Constantinople,

References to Church music still have to be systematically analyzed in the sources. A. J. Swan in his article on the Russian Znamenny Chant in *The Musical Quarterly*, XXVI (1940), pp. 532–33, mentions in passing that the Byzantine historian Cedrenus complains about the introduction of an ornamented chant. Cedrenus supposedly attributes this innovation to Patriarch Theophylact (933–56) who was Patriarch during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. For a Byzantinist who knows that Theophylact was an Armenian, such a reference might lead to some interesting assumptions about Armenian influence. The source material, however, does not warrant such an interpretation. The only reference that one finds in Cedrenus to the Patriarch and to the singing (*Historiarum compendium*, II [Bonn, 1839], p. 333) is one in which he describes him as a person. He mentions that he was apt to interrupt the service to run to see a new horse (according to Cedrenus, Theophylact owned two thousand horses) and then return and resume the singing where he had stopped.

In the following sentences Cedrenus mentions that Theophylact appointed a new *domestikos* to the Church, a certain Euthymius Kasne, who taught devilish dances and unbecoming songs gathered (or learned) at crossroads and in brothels.

(13) *Paterik Kievskago Pecherskago Monastyria*, ed. D. I. Abramovich ("Pamiatniki slaviano-russkoi pismennosti", St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 57 and 60; *Povest* ..., I, pp. 124–25; ... *Primary Chronicle*, pp. 158–59 and n. 237 on p. 269, all references to Stephen "domestik", who succeeded Theodosius as abbot of the Pecher Monastery in Kiev, was later expelled from it and still later became Bishop of Vladimir. In The Russian Primary Chronicle he is mentioned as Stephen *Cantor* [!].

In 1137 Manuel the Eunuch, a famous singer, became Bishop of Smolensk. See *Ipatiiev Chronicle*, ("Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei", II, St. Petersburg, 1843), p. 14: "V lieto 6645 postavlen byst skopets Manuilo episkopom Smolensku, pievets gorazdyi, izhe bie prishel iz Grek".

(14) *Povest* ..., 104–06 and 304–06 and ... *Primary Chronicle*, pp. 139–41. See also *Paterik Kievskago* ..., p. 12.

the rules of Saint Theodore the Studite (15). These references point to two of the most important places with which Russians had contacts during that period.

The oldest preserved account of a pilgrimage of a Russian to the Holy Land is dated shortly after the Crusaders established the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Abbot Daniel, who was in Jerusalem for Easter of 1107, was a very careful observer, which makes his book a most interesting document (16). For instance, during his trip from Constantinople to Jerusalem, Daniel mentions that on arriving at the tip of the Gallipoli Peninsula the routes divide. One could sail to the "right" to Mount Athos, or one could continue to the "left" to Jerusalem (17). The casual way in which he mentions Mount Athos seems to imply that he refers to a place well known to this compatriots for whom this description was intended. While in Jerusalem Daniel described in detail all the places which he visited. The most interesting part of his account to historians of music is his description of the service on Holy Saturday. He explicitly mentions, besides the *Kyrie eleison*, a canticle, *Gospodevi poim* (To the Lord We Sing), which is the literal Slavic translation of the Greek, *To Kyrio asomen* (18). This casual reference to a canticle by

(15) *Povest* ..., 107 and 307; II, 385–86; ... *Primary Chronicle*, 142 and n. 189 on pp. 262–63. This source contains a reference to Theodosius, who received a copy of the rules of the Studios Monastery from a Studite monk who was at that time in Russia.

On the other hand, in Theodosius' biography by Nestor (*Paterik Kievskago*, p. 28) it is said that Theodosius sent a monk to Constantinople to copy the Studios rules. See also E. E. Golubinskiĭ, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, Vol. I, Pt. 2 (2d ed., Moscow, 1904), pp. 372–76, 607–27, 648–51.

(16) *Zhit'e i khozhen'e Danila, russkiia zemli igumena, 1106–1107 gg.*, ed. M. A. Venevitinov ("Pravoslavnyi Palestinskiĭ Sbornik", fasc. 3 and 9, St. Petersburg, 1885). An English translation of this work is available: *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land, 1106–1107, A. D.*, Annotated by C. W. Wilson ("Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society", IV, London, 1895). On its importance and value see N. K. Gudzy, *History of Early Russian Literature*, translated from the second Russian edition (1941) by S. W. Jones (New York, 1949), pp. 115–17.

(17) *Zhit'e i khozhen'e* ..., p. 5; *The Pilgrimage* ..., p. 4. The term which Daniel uses for Mount Athos, The Holy Mountain, is a literal Slavic translation of its Greek name (*hagion oros*).

(18) *Zhit'e i khozhen'e* ..., p. 134; *The Pilgrimage* ..., p. 78, translated with its Latin equivalent, "Cantabo Domino". A footnote to this incipit reads: "The Song of Moses and the Israelites, Ex. XV".

simply quoting its incipit seems to imply that it was well known in his own country.

Although no other contemporary accounts by Russian pilgrims are preserved, it may be assumed that there were many more pilgrims to the Holy Land (19). An indirect confirmation of this assumption may be found in a document containing questions of the monk Kirik to his superior, Bishop Nifont of Novgorod (1130–1156). The key question is that in which Kirik asked the Bishop whether he had committed a sin by obstructing people who desired to make pilgrimages to Jerusalem (20). Nifont answered that not only was it not a sin, but it was a good deed. In addition, some sort of punishment (*epitimia*) should be inflicted on those who took oaths to go to Jerusalem, since that sort of oath had become a curse for the Russian land. The implication is that there were a fairly large number of people who took the oath.

While written documents about travelers are lacking, there are interesting records about Russian trade with the Southeastern Mediterranean. In a recently discovered document relating to a lawsuit against some Jewish merchants from Cairo in 1097 and 1098, one item listed as a part of their cargo for India was Russian linen (21). About 1170, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela recorded that

(19) Information about pilgrimages is scattered in ecclesiastical histories of Russia and some of the references are of questionable value. For one of the best surveys of this subject see S. I. Ponomarev: *Ierusalim i Palestina v russkoi literature, naukie, zhivopisi i perevodakh (Materialy dlia bibliografii)*, ("Sbornik Otdieleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akad. Nauk"), Vol. XVII, No. 2, St. Petersburg, 1877.

The existence of a Russian Monastery in Jerusalem about 1234–35 is mentioned in the biography of the first Serbian Archbishop and Saint, St. Sava. When in Jerusalem he visited the Church of St. Michael within the Laura of St. Sabas, which belonged to the Russians. See Domentijan, *Život Svetoga Save*, ed. Đura Daničić (Belgrade, 1865), p. 272: "I paky ide k svetomou Mikhailou v roushskyi manastir".

(20) "Voprosi Kirika, Savvy i Illii, s otvetami Nifonta, episkopa Novgorodskago i drugikh ierarkhicheskikh lits", from a thirteenth century manuscript, in *Pamiatniki drevne-russkago kanonicheskago prava*, I ("Russkaia Istoricheskaia Biblioteka", VI, St. Petersburg, 1880), col. 27, question No. 12 and col. 61, question No. 22. The text is reprinted in a slightly different arrangement in S. Smirnov, *Drevne-Russkiĭ Dukhovnik* (Moscow, 1914), in the Appendix, *Materialy dlia istorii drevne-russkoi pokaiannoi distsipliny*, p. 13.

(21) S. D. Goitein, "From the Mediterranean to India", *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), p. 192.

he saw Russian merchants, not only in Constantinople, but also in Alexandria (22).

It seems that travel literature must have existed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Russia. This hypothesis relies on an indirect reference in the *Paterik* of the Pecher Monastery in Kiev. A text written by the monk Polikarp about 1232 reads: "... and I have never visited the Holy places, nor have I seen Jerusalem or Mount Sinai, so that I could add something to my story as the braggarts have the custom of embellishing their stories." (23) He wants to write only of his pride for Kiev. This reference, in wording and construction, reflects some sort of resentment which may have appeared at that time in Russia against excessive travelling.

An itinerary of a high dignitary of the Orthodox Church on his way to Jerusalem may be analyzed in the biography of Saint Sava, who won independence for the Serbian Orthodox Church from the Constantinopolitan Patriarch and became its first archbishop and the first Serbian saint. On his second trip to Jerusalem, in 1234 and 1235, he visited monasteries on Mount Sinai. His biography mentions explicitly that during his stay in Jerusalem he ordered books to be copied and that he took back books and icons to Serbia (24).

(22) *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans. and ed. M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 76.

Concerning the travels of Benjamin of Tudela there are two different interpretations of the term that he uses for merchants seen in Alexandria. One interpretation is *Russians*. See above, Adler's translation. The same translation occurs in an earlier English edition, *Travels of Rabbi Benjamin, Son of Jonah, of Tudela*, trans. Rev. B. Gerrans (London, 1783), p. 158.

A different translation designating the merchants as from *Roussilon* appeared first in *The Itinerary of Rabby Benjamin of Tudela*, trans. and ed. A. Asher, I (London, 1840), p. 157. From Asher's book it has been taken over to *Early Travels in Palestine*, ed. Th. Wright (London, 1848), p. 123, and in *Contemporaries of Marco Polo*, ed. Manuel Komroff (New York, 1928), p. 318. It is interesting to note that when Constantinople and merchants trading there is mentioned, the term *Russians* appears in all of the editions. Cf. Adler's trans., p. 12; Gerran's trans., p. 57; Asher's trans., p. 51; Wright's book, p. 74; and Komroff's book, p. 264.

(23) *Paterik Kievskago* ..., p. 110: "I nisem nikoli zhe ob'khodil sviatykh miest, ni Erusalim vidiekh, ni Sinaiskia gory, da bykh chto prilozhil k povesti, iako zhe obychai imut khitroslovesnitsy sim krasitisia".

(24) Domentijan, *Život* ..., pp. 298–326; Teodosije [wrongly indicated as Domentijan], *Život Svetoga Save*, ed. Đura Daničić (Belgrade, 1860), pp. 181–95.

Since Jerusalem and Mount Sinai each had a prominent place in the history of Christianity, it was only natural that pilgrims tried to learn as much as possible about the ritual practiced there.

There is no doubt that such large and important centers as Constantinople and Mount Athos also played important roles as intermediaries in this transmission. The point that needs to be emphasized particularly is the possibility that manuscripts of church books from Jerusalem may have found their way to Russia as early as the eleventh century. Support for this assumption may be found in the fact that the *Paterik* from Sinai was translated and copied in Russia in the eleventh century, and in the known existence of early Slavic manuscripts with an even pre-cyrillic alphabet, the glagolitic, in the library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai (25).

Another relationship of importance is that of the Russian clergy and monks to Mount Athos. It has already been mentioned that Antonius took his vows there some time before the middle of the eleventh century. On the basis of this information, the fact emerges that Mount Athos had by that time acquired a high reputation, and it was considered proper for those who wanted to lead a hermit's life to go there. In addition, monasteries were gradually established on Mount Athos belonging to nations which accepted Christianity from the Greeks. Besides monasteries with Greek monks, monasteries of Bulgarians, of Georgians, Russians and Serbs were founded.

The actual dates of the founding of Slavic monasteries on Mount Athos are still a matter of controversy. It is known, however, that some time in the eleventh century there were Russian monks on Mount Athos. The first Russian monks could have stayed in Greek

(25) On the Sinai-Paterik, a manuscript in the Moscow Synodal Library, No. 551, see I. I. Sreznevskiĭ, *Sviedieniia i zamietki o maloizviestnykh i neizviestnykh pamiatnikakh, LXXXII, Paterik Sinaiskiĭ* ("Prilozhenie k 34. tomu Zapisok Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk", No. 4, St. Petersburg, 1879), p. 49.

There are at least two Glagolitic manuscripts of the eleventh century found at Sinai and a number of other manuscripts and fragments in Cyrillic characters. For Slavic manuscripts written in Glagolitic characters, see Rajko Nahtigal, *Euchologium Sinaiticum*, I–II ("Akademija znanosti in umetnosti v Ljubljani, Filozofsko-filološko-historični razred, Dela", I–II, Ljubljana, 1941–42), especially the preface to Vol. I, pp. ix–xxvi, which contains a survey of all studies about Glagolitic manuscripts in general. Cf. also V. Rozov, "Srpski rukopisi Jerusalima i Sinaja", *Južnoslovenski filolog*, V (1925–26), pp. 118–29.

monasteries, but in the twelfth century they acquired a monastery of their own.

In another monastery, which was at one time used by the Russians, there is a document of highest importance and value. It is the inventory of the Monastery Xilourgou, compiled in December 1142. Of particular interest is the list of Russian church books (26). The pertinent passage in the inventory reads:

[Greek text]

Biblia rousika		[Russian books
apostoloi	5	5 apostles
parakletikai	2	2 parakletike
oktaehoi	5	5 octoechoi
eirmologia	5	5 hirmologia
synaxaria	4	4 synaxars
paroimia	1	1 Old Testament lectionary
menaia	12	12 menaia
paterika	2	2 paterics
psalteria	5	5 psalters
horologia	5	5 horologia
nomocanon	1	1 book of Church laws]

It is a very curious coincidence, if it is only coincidence, that five books are listed of: apostles, octoechos, hirmologion, psalter and horologion; all books intended either for singers or for lectors (anagnosts). Were these books intended only for the use of a lector and a singer? Or were there more lectors and singers, so that they needed five copies of each? Were these books only copied there in

(26) *Akty russkago na sviatom Athonie monastyria Sv. velikomouchenika i tsielitelia Panteleimona* (Kiev, 1873), pp. 54–57. The Greek text is on pp. 54 and 56, and the corresponding Slavic translation is on pp. 55 and 57.

See also A. Soloviev, "Histoire du monastère russe au Mont-Athos", *Byzantion*, VIII (1933), pp. 213–38, especially pp. 218–19; also separately published in a revised version (Belgrade, 1933), pp. 6–7, with an appended facsimile of the document.

See also V. Mošin, "Russkie na Afone i russko-vizantiĭskie otnosheniia v XI–XII vv.", *Byzantinoslavica*, IX (1947–48), pp. 55–85, and XI (1950), pp. 32–60. Especially XI (1950), p. 36. Mošin thinks that there is evidence enough to assume that a Russian monastery was on Mount Athos before 1030. See *Byzantinoslavica*, IX (1947–48), p. 63 ff.

order to be sent to other monasteries? These and similar questions must remain unanswered, at least for the present. This list seems to be the only known inventory of Church books in Russian at a monastery of that period. Compared with library inventories of Greek churches and monasteries (27), a striking disparity appears in the proportionately larger number of hirmologia, while there is a conspicuous absence of kontakaria, sticheraria and triodia, which figure prominently in Greek libraries.

Another library should be mentioned in this connection, though in this case no list of the books has survived. Shortly before 1218, or in the course of that year, Prince Konstantin Vsevolodovich bequeathed his library containing "more than one thousand Greek manuscripts" to a school which he established in the city of Vladymir (28). Russian and Greek monks were there to study these books, to translate them into Slavic, and to teach the youth. Even considering that the number of manuscripts mentioned is exaggerated, there must have been tremendous activity in Russia at that time in copying and translating manuscripts from the Greek. This was all cut short when the Mongols invaded Russia in 1237, when the ties with other Christian communities were reduced to a minimum, and Russia was separated from the rest of Europe for about two centuries.

(27) For a list and bibliography of inventories, see Speros Vryonis, Jr., "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. XI (1957), p. 264, n. 5.

(28) V. N. Tatishchev, *Istoriia Rossiĭskaia s samykh drevnieishikh vremen*, Vol. III (Moscow, 1774), p. 416: "Mnogie drevnie knigi Grecheskie tsienoiu vysokoiu kupil, i veliel perevodit na Russkiĭ iazyk ... On imiel odnikh Grecheskikh knig boliee 1000, kotoryia chastiiu pokupal, chastiiu Patriarkhi, viedaia ego liubomudrie, v dar prisylali". Cf. Archbishop Makariĭ, *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi*, Vol. III (3d ed., 1888), pp. 123–24. See also Golubinskiĭ, *Istoriia* ..., pp. 816–18. Golubinskiĭ, who is the best and most reliable historian of Russian Church History, is very harsh with Tatishchev, who apparently had as his source a chronicle now lost. Since the time when he wrote, many of the manuscripts at his disposal have been lost. It seems to be the practice of historians of Russia to accept Tatishchev's data as correct, unless proven otherwise. Golubinskiĭ in his discussion of this reference rather cynically asks why Tatishchev did not write "ten thousand" books. Yet even Golubinskiĭ admits that the chronicles referring to the Prince imply that he owned a fairly large library.

CHAPTER II

THE STATUS OF RESEARCH IN THE EARLY SLAVIC CHANT

Present knowledge of the Early Slavic Chant is extremely limited, and except for one attempt (1) no melody from any of the Slavic medieval manuscripts has ever been transcribed. Even in discussions of the Russian Chant in the best standard handbooks on the history of music, such as Reese's *Music in the Middle Ages* (2), and the *New Oxford History of Music* (3), the music analyzed is from later centuries, not of the Middle Ages.

One of the basic handicaps in approaching the medieval Slavic Chant is the difficulty in reading the musical manuscripts. They contain neumes similar to those of the period of transition between Early and Middle Byzantine Notation. While the latter can be transcribed, the former has not yet been deciphered. The notation in Slavic musical manuscripts has so far remained unreadable.

The first attempts to study the extant medieval musical manuscripts of the Slavs started over a century and a half ago. Since that study has a history of its own, it may be appropriate to present here a survey of research accomplished in this field.

After the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the gradual transition from capital to minuscule letters increased the speed of writing and modified the strokes of the pen. The appearance of the text changed, as did the musical notation. It would seem that during this process the meaning and understanding of the

(1) H. J. W. Tillyard, "The Problems of Byzantine Neumes", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLI (1921), p. 42.

(2) Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1940), pp. 95–104, a study of Russian Chant by Igor Buketoff.

(3) *The New Oxford History of Music*, Vol. II, pp. 52–7, a study of Russian Chant by Alfred J. Swan.

musical notation had been modified or lost, and the singers, in the course of time, evolved a new terminology for the neumes.

These points can be substantiated by evidence from documents still extant. The fact that the meaning of the ancient notation was lost is substantiated by Alexander Mezenets, who in 1668 wrote an *Alphabet of the Znamenny Chant*, which was a kind of codification of the existing neumatic notation (4). In his *Alphabet*, he speaks of the "mysterious" signs in old manuscripts. One simple comparison of the appearance of a page from a musical manuscript of earlier centuries with one of the seventeenth century will show how great that difference is (5).

Concerning the creation of a new terminology for the neumes, there are manuscripts with the listings of neumes and their names (6). Though some of the names of the neumes may be recognized as derived from the Greek, there are some which are purely Slavic terms designating the neumes according to their shapes (7).

There were good reasons why Mezenets wrote his book at that

(4) *Azbuka Znamennago Pienniia (Izvieshchenie o soglasnieishikh pomietakh) startsa Aleksandra Mezentsa (1668-go goda)*, ed. with commentary by St. Smolenskiĭ (Kazan, 1888).

(5) *Ibid.*, Plates I–XIV.

(6) The earliest extant manuscript with such a list is a *Stikhirar* from the middle of the fifteenth century, in the Library of the Troitse-Sergeievska Laura, No. 408, fols. 161r and 161v. It is reproduced in facsimile in N. Findeizen, *Ocherki po istorii muzyki v Rossiĭ*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1928), pp. 99 and 100. There are a few more manuscripts with similar lists of neumes: another *Stikhirar* in the same library, No. 409, late fifteenth century; a *Hirmologion* from the beginning of the sixteenth century in the library of the Moscow Cathedral of the Assumption (now in the collection of the Library of the Synod), No. 55; another *Hirmologion* from the sixteenth century in the library of the Moscow Academy for Divinities (Moskovska Dukhovna Akademiia), No. 249. The last two mentioned are reproduced in V. Metallov, *Russkaia Simiografiia* (Moscow, 1912), Plates 89 and 95. See also pp. 17 and 32 in the same book.

The above-mentioned reproductions in Findeizen's and Metallov's books are re-reproduced in Mme. Palikarova-Verdeil's book, *La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (du IX^e au XIV^e siècle)* ("Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae", Series "Subsidia", III, Copenhague, 1953), Plates XII, XIII a and XIII b.

(7) See the list of neumes in St. Smolenskiĭ, *O drevne-russkikh pievcheskikh notatsiiakh* ("Pamiatniki drevnei pismennosti", CXLV, St. Petersburg, 1901), p. 59. Terms such as *paraklit*, *kulizma*, *khamila*, and *thita* are obviously remnants from the Greek designations. On the other hand, terms such as *dva v chelnu* (two in a boat), *zmiitsa* (little snake), and *pauk* (spider) are Slavic descriptive names derived from the shapes of the neumes.

particular time. The practice of Church singing had degenerated into a disorderly "competition", in which singers did not follow the order of service, but started "breaking in" with their "numbers", creating a state of confusion and simultaneous performance of several different songs.

Another problem confronting the Russian Church was the fashionable yet corrupt pronunciation in singing called *homonija*. In the Russian alphabet there are a few semi-vowels which nowadays are "mute" letters. In the musical manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these "mute" letters regularly have a neume above them, indicating length and pitch. In the course of centuries, singers started pronouncing these "mute" letters as the vowels *o* and *e*, shifting the stresses in polysyllabic words, which led to completely unintelligible singing.

In order to clarify the situation several Councils were assembled in Moscow to deal with the problems of the Chant. Even the highest dignitaries of the Russian Church were split in their opinions as to what was the "right" way to perform the Chant. A special committee with Mezenets as its chairman met in Moscow to examine the manuscripts and perform a "cleaning" job. After an examination of manuscripts from several centuries, the Church suppressed the *homonija* and restored order, in keeping with the dignity of the religious service. In this process the readings of some manuscripts were approved as the only acceptable ones, and orders were issued to "correct" all manuscripts to conform with the approved readings. It is not improbable that during this process of imposed conformity a number of older manuscripts were destroyed, even if they had been saved from destruction by the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century.

Mezenets' plea for the preservation of neumatic notation was doomed to failure because of the rapid acceptance of the essentially simpler Western staff notation. However, a dissident group, called Old-believers, continued to perform the services according to their traditions using old music books, and their descendants even today claim that they have preserved the "old" Chant in its purity. It is an irony of history that this group—which in fact preserved neumatic notation, thus keeping alive an idea of Mezenets—was during his lifetime a bitter opponent of his reforms (8).

(8) Alfred J. Swan, in a footnote to his study "The Znamenny Chant of the Russian Church", *The Musical Quarterly*, XXVI (1940), p. 236, mentions that he heard a religious community of Old-believers in Riga, in 1936, performing the so-called "Demestvenny Chant", which, he says, sounded chromatic and even ultrachromatic.

The article of Erwin Koschmieder, "Teorja i praktyka rosyjskiego spiewu neumaticznego na tle tradycji staroobrzędowcow wileńskih", *Ateneum Wileńskie*, X (Wilno, 1935), pp. 295–306, is of great interest, although it deals with very late examples.

The long separation of Russia from Western Europe continued despite the tremendous impact of Western influences on the life of the Russian court in the eighteenth century. When Gerbert published his *De Cantu et Musica Sacra*, his only source of information was Jan Herbinius, who in 1675 had published the records of his visit to Kiev (9).

Shortly after Gerbert's mention of the Russian Chant, the first Russian amateur scholar appears, Evtimij Bolkhovitinov (1767–1837), better known to posterity as Evgenij, Metropolitan of Kiev from 1822 to 1837. As a young faculty member at the Theological Seminary in Voronezh, besides his many other interests, he wrote a paper in 1797 on the origins of the Russian Chant (10). His second and last excursion into the field of the history of music occurred in 1821 when he wrote another article on the history of the Chant (11).

One of the greatest merits of Metropolitan Evgenij's work is the demonstration of the awakening of interest in the history of music in Russia. On the other hand, he is responsible for having mentioned

(9) Johannes Herbinius, *Religiosae Kyovienses cryptae sive Kyovia subterranea* (Jena, 1675). This book seems to be an extreme rarity; there is no copy recorded as available in the United States. Metallov, who was one of the best informed historians of Church Music in Russia, stated that he knew of only one copy in Russia. Gerbert quoted Herbinius in *De Cantu et Musica Sacra* (St. Blasius, 1774), pp. 262–63. On Plate X of his book Gerbert reproduced a sample of "Russian notation" from Herbinius' book. It should be mentioned that there are no extant Russian manuscripts nor any other sources which contain that particular variant (staff notation with square notes), so that in this respect Herbinius' reproduction is unique.

(10) *Istoricheskoe razsuzhdenie voobshche o drevnem khristianskom bogosluzhebnom pieniĭ i osobenno o pieniĭ rossiĭskoi tserkvi, s nuzhnymi primiechaniiami na onoe* (1st ed., Voronezh, 1799; 2d ed., St. Petersburg, 1804; 3rd ed., Moscow, 1814). Although this paper had three editions, it became such a rarity that it was reprinted in the journal *Russkaia Muzykal'naia Gazeta*, IV (1897), cols. 1020–36. See A. Preobrazhenskiĭ, *Slovar' russkago tserkovnago pieniia* (Moscow, 1897), pp. 53–54.

(11) "O russkoi tserkovnoi muzykie", *Otechestvennyia zapiski*, Part VIII, Book 19 (November, 1821), pp. 145–57.

for the first time a confusing reference about tripartite singing in a sixteenth century document, the *Stepennaia kniga*. He interpreted it as *trio* and thus created the false impression that harmony (as he knew it in the nineteenth century) may have existed as far back as the eleventh century (12).

Contemporaneously with the work of Metropolitan Evgenij, an essay on vocal music in Russia was published in 1808 by N. Gorchakov, which contained the first known reproductions of pages from manuscripts. The only other known article by Gorchakov, published in 1841, deals with later periods of the Russian Chant (13).

The name of a well-known composer of that period, Bortnianskiĭ, was linked inaccurately with what was thought to be the next important point in the chronological sequence in the awakening of interest in the Old Chant in Russia. The "project" that calls for a study of the Old Chant, and which was for so long attributed to Bortnianskiĭ, actually was published much later, and was not known publicly during his lifetime. It is now accepted as the writing of an Old-believer (14).

In 1831 two articles dealing with the Russian Chant were published anonymously. The first of the two (15) exhibits a far superior treatment of the subject and may have been another product of Metropolitan Evgenij's pen. The second article, attributed later to

(12) *Ibid.*, pp. 150–51.

(13) N. Gorchakov, *Opyt vokalnoi ili pievcheskoi muzyki v Rossii ot drevnikh vremen do nynieshniago usovershenstvovaniia sego iskusstva s liubopytnymi zamiechaniiami ob otlichnykh avtorakh i regentakh vokalnoi muzyki i 2 gravirovannymi figurami starinnykh pievcheskikh not* (Moscow, 1808); and "Ob ustavnom i partesnom tserkovnom pieniĭ v Rossie", *Moskvitianin* (1841), No. 9.

Neither of these publications was available to this writer. Their titles are quoted according to Metallov, *Ocherk istorii pravoslavnago tserkovnago pieniia v Rossii* (4th ed., Moscow, 1915), p. XIII.

(14) This "project" was published in the Protocols of the Society for Ancient Literature for April 25, 1878. Its title was *Proekt vozstanovleniia drevne-tserkovnago pieniia*, and it was an appeal for printing music books with neumes. It was only in 1921 that a Russian scholar, A. V. Finagin, destroyed this myth in his study "'Proekt Bortnianskogo' (k voprosu ob ego avtore)", *Muzyka i muzykal'nyi byt staroi Rossii* (Leningrad, 1927), pp. 174–88.

(15) "Kratkoe istoricheskoe sviedienie o piesnopieniiakh nashei tserkvi", *Khristianskoe Chtenie*, Bk. XLII (1831), pp. 70–106. Preobrazhenskiĭ does not list this article in his bibliography (see next note).

the Archimandrit Martiriĭ Gorbachevskiĭ (16), betrays a panegyrist who interprets the modes as corresponding to different moods ("ethos" in music!), instead of a historical treatment of the subject. Only a few years later, in 1834, the director of the Choir of the Imperial Chapel, Theodor L'vov, published his small booklet on the Chant and folk-singing in Russia (17). None of the above mentioned articles and books was of lasting value, but they remain interesting documents for the historian of culture.

The first publication of lasting value was the work of Vukol Mikhailovich Undol'skiĭ (1815–64), who in 1846 published his *Remarks on the History of Church Singing in Russia* (18). His greatest merit is that he published reliable versions of texts and documents relating to music and musicians during the seventeenth century. Although he did not publish anything on medieval music, the seriousness with which he approached the publication of these documents established higher standards than had been accepted before his time.

The next publication, by Ivan Petrovich Sakharov (1807–63) on his research in Church singing, represents a setback when compared with Undol'skiĭ's work (19). While Undol'skiĭ was short and precise, Sakharov did not show the same critical ability to distinguish between reliable and unreliable documents. Perhaps under the influence of Metropolitan Evgenij's writings, Sakharov indulged in speculations about polyphonic performances as far back as the eleventh century.

The interpretation of Metropolitan Evgenij, as repeated by Sakharov, created the opinion that the actual Chant heard in the

(16) "Istoricheskoe sviedienie o pienii greko-rossiĭskoi tserkvi", *Khristianskoe Chtenie*, Bk. XLIII (1831), pp. 132–86. For the bibliographical data see A. Preobrazhenskiĭ, *Po tserkovnomu pieniiu ukazatel knig, broshiur, zhurnalnykh statei i rukopisei* (2d ed., Moscow, 1900). For information about the interpretation of modes, see M. M. Ivanov, *Istoriia muzykal'nogo razvitiia Rossiĭ*, Vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1910), p. 43. See also V. Metallov, *Ocherk istorii* ..., p. XIII.

(17) *O pienii v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1834). This book was unavailable.

(18) V. Undol'skiĭ, "Zamiechaniia dlia istorii tserkovnago pieniia v Rossii", *Chteniia v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiĭskikh pri Moskovskom Universitetie* (Moscow, 1846), No. 3; also separate.

(19) I. Sakharov, "Izsliedovaniia o russkom tserkovnom piesnopienii", *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvieshcheniia*, Vol. LXI (1849), sect. 2, pp. 147–96, 265–84; and Vol. LXIII (1849), sect. 2, pp. 1–41, 89–109.

daily services in the churches was the same as that heard several centuries earlier, but those few who had a knowledge of the contemporary Greek Chant could find no similarity between it and the Russian Chant of the nineteenth century. The study of Byzantine music had been scarcely touched before that time, and for this reason some of the works of Porphiriĭ Uspenskiĭ (1804–85) deserve to be singled out. During his trips to Mount Sinai in the 1840's and to Mount Athos in the 1850's, Uspenskiĭ acquired notoriety for cutting manuscripts and taking fragments back to Russia. Although his writings were published much later, they date from this period. He should be remembered for his descriptions of music heard during his travels and for what amounts to the first real treatise on Byzantine hymnography (20). He even quoted excerpts from several Byzantine musical manuscripts. For future studies it may be of interest to mention his remark that the Coptic Chant sounded to him very much like the Russian Chant (21).

Next in chronological sequence, a short study by Aleksei L'vov on the free and asymmetric rhythm of the Old Russian Chant should be listed. It was translated and published in German as well (22).

In 1862 a book appeared in the West, which according to its title promised to be a study of the Russian Chant. This book, written by Prince Nicholas Youssoupoff, is the worst kind of hodgepodge compiled by a complete ignoramus on musical matters, even though he lists his titles as "membre de l'Académie Phil-

(20) Porfiriĭ Uspenskiĭ, *Pervoe puteshestvie v Athonskie monastyri i skity*, supplementary volume to Vol. II (Moscow, 1881), pp. 14–114. Although Uspenskiĭ had no insight into the structure of Church poetry, he gave lists of hymnographers and published the text of a fragment on the "mystical explanation of neumes" by Michael Blemydas.

(21) P. Uspenskiĭ, *Vtoroe puteshestvie po Sviatoi Gorie Athonskoi* (Moscow, 1880), p. 309. Of later Russian scholars, I. Voznesenskiĭ objected particularly strongly to this statement of Uspenskiĭ, stating that there was neither historical nor palaeographical evidence available to support the assumption for the Egyptian (as Voznesenskiĭ calls it) origin of the Russian Chant. Cf. I. Voznesenskiĭ, *O tserkovnom pienii pravoslavnoi greko-rossiĭskoi tserkvi, Bolshoi i malyi znamennyi rospiev* (2d ed., Riga, 1890), p. 203.

(22) A. L'vov, *O svobodnom ili nesimmetrichnom ritmie* (St. Petersburg, 1858); and its German translation, *Über den freien Rhytmus des altrussischen Kirchengesanges* (St. Petersburg, 1859). Neither of these books was available to this writer.

harmonique de St. Cécile de Rome et maître-compositeur honoraire de l'Académie Philharmonique de Bologne" (23).

In the next year a real scholar appeared, Dmitriĭ V. Razumovskiĭ (1818–89), whose work during the next two decades established a landmark in the history of Russian musical scholarship. It is interesting to note that Razumovskiĭ's work was contemporary with that of Jean Baptiste Pitra, who, incidentally, working in Russian libraries in St. Petersburg and Moscow, discovered that the Greek Church poetry consisted of stanzas with verses of different length and syllabic rhythm (24).

After a preliminary study on manuscripts with neumatic notation, Razumovskiĭ's book on the Church Chant in Russia is the first systematic account of notations found in Russian musical manuscripts. Comparing them with a few available reproductions from a hirmologion in the Esphigmenu Monastery on Mount Athos (25), Razumovskiĭ concluded that the model for the neumatic notation in Russian manuscripts of the Middle Ages should be

(23) Prince Nicholas Youssoupoff, *Histoire de la musique en Russie, Première partie—Musique sacrée, suivie d'un choix de morceaux de chants d'église, anciens et modernes* (Paris, 1862 [on cover wrongly 1872]). This book was immediately reviewed in Russia by V. V. Stasov, "Eshche kurioz", *St. Peterburgskiia Viedomosti*, No. 65 for 1863. Stasov's review was translated into German and published as "Eine Geschichte der Kirchenmusik in Russland", *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Vol. 58 (1863), pp. 193–94; the complete incompetence of Youssoupoff to write about music is obvious not only from the text, but in his appendix of music where he presents a "facsimile" which he labels as a "tenth century octoechos", while a single glance shows the notation to be from the seventeenth century.

(24) Jean Baptiste Pitra, *Hymnographie de l'église grecque* (Rome, 1867), pp. 10–12.

(25) D. V. Razumovskiĭ, *Tserkovnoe pienie v Rossii* (Moscow, 1867–69), pp. 155–56. The reproductions of a few pages from the hirmologion in the Esphigmenu Monastery were made by P. I. Sevastianov in 1858, and since then have served as the only known examples of Byzantine musical notation to all Russian historians of music. Later several collections of fragments became available to them, and only in 1906 a group of Russian scholars, including Smolenskiĭ and Preobrazhenskiĭ, visited Vienna, Belgrade, Sofia, Constantinople, and Mount Athos, where they became acquainted with a larger group of Byzantine musical manuscripts. For an account of this expedition and of manuscripts which they had an opportunity to examine, describe, and photograph, see Smolenskiĭ', "Iz'dorozhnykh vpechatleniĭ", *Russkaia Muzykal'naia Gazeta*, XIII (1906), Nos. 42–46, particularly No. 46, cols. 1057–1061.

sought in Byzantine musical manuscripts, which at that time had not been investigated. He was the first to compare handwriting and the shapes of neumes, and on the basis of this research he made the statement that although the *ductus* of the handwriting had changed, the tune remained essentially the same (26).

One year before Razumovskiĭ published his capital work, still another study of the origins of the Russian Chant was published. Its author, Riazhskiĭ, is otherwise unknown, and his study is no more than a fairly thorough review of all the work done up to that time (27).

Contemporary with Razumovskiĭ's writings, the work of a Russianized German, Yuriĭ K. Arnold (1811–98), should be mentioned. He attempted to reconstruct the theoretical foundations of the Old Russian Chant, basing his research on acustical principles and ancient Greek writings. The result was a series of artificial schemes which he vainly tried to fit into the actual Chant (28).

The foundations laid by Razumovskiĭ stimulated a real renaissance of studies in Church Music at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. The three great scholars of this period in Russia were Smolenskiĭ, Metallov, and Preobrazhenskiĭ.

Stepan Vasilevich Smolenskiĭ (1848–1909) was perhaps the most gifted of all Russian musical historians. His description and publication of a small number of hirmoi from the Hirmologion in the Library of the Monastery of the Resurrection, called the "New Jerusalem", demonstrated his ability to grasp the essence of a problem and systematize the available facts (29). Starting with his next work, the edition of the *Alphabet of the Znamenny Chant of*

(26) *Tserkovnoe pienie* ..., p. 171.

(27) A. Riazhskiĭ, "O proiskhozhdenii russkago tserkovnago pieniia", *Pravoslavnoe Obozrienie*, XXI (1886), pp. 36–59, 194–214, 292–302.

(28) Yuriĭ Arnold, *Teoriia drevle-russkago tserkovnago i narodnago pieniia na osnovanii avtenticheskikh traktatov i akusticheskago analiza, Vypusk pervyi—Teoriia pravoslavnago tserkovnago pieniia voobshche, po ucheniiu ellinskikh i vizantiĭskikh pisatelei* (Moscow, 1880). Another of Arnold's studies on harmonization of the Russian Chant, *Garmonizatsiia drevne-russkago tserkovnago pieniia* (Moscow, 1886), and his article written during his stay in Germany, "Die Tonkunst in Russland bis zur Einführung des abendländischen Systems", *Allgemeine Zeitschrift für Theater und Musik* (1867), were not available to this writer.

(29) *Kratkoe opisanie drevniago (XII–XIII vieka) znamennago irmologa, prinadlezhashchago Voskresenskomu, "Novii Ierusalim" imenuemomu monastyriu* (Kazan, 1887).

Aleksander Mezenets, Smolenskiĭ embarked on a long and thorough study of this crucial period in the history of Russian music—during the seventeenth century when neumatic notation was in a state of flux and was giving way to Western staff notation. Appended to this book Smolenskiĭ published extremely valuable comparative charts of neumatic notation from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, which are the first scholarly attempt to present the development of neumatic notation. It seems, however, that Smolenskiĭ was not thoroughly acquainted with Byzantine neumes. He did know, perhaps better than anyone else in his time, the Russian neumatic notation of the seventeenth century. He ventured to transcribe the neumatic notation, going back as far as the sixteenth century, and did not feel safe in going further back into the Middle Ages. In 1901 he claimed Russian origin for the neumes in Byzantine musical manuscripts of which he knew only the reproductions from the Esphigmenu Hirmologion (30). Smolenskiĭ was aware of the existence of formulae in the Chant, and gave a most penetrating analysis of one of the stikhera for Easter (31). In this work he points out that the singers were using the melodic formulae freely, adding to them transitional passages from one formula to another (32). In view of his achievements, his limited knowledge of comparative Greek material notwithstanding, Smolenskiĭ certainly deserves high honor for his valuable contributions to musical scholarship.

Vasiliĭ Mikhailovich Metallov (1862–1926) was the most erudite of the Russian historians of music. His knowledge of sources and contemporary Western European musical literature was unmatched in Russia. He does not seem to have made any transcriptions of medieval notation, yet he did compile the best listings of extant

(30) *O drevne-russkikh pievcheskikh notatsiiakh* ("Pamiatniki drevnei pismennosti i iskusstva", Vol. CXLV, St. Petersburg, 1901), pp. 20–22. Smolenskiĭ's claim for Russian origin of the musical notation in Byzantine musical manuscripts was challenged and refuted by Konstantin I. Papadopulos-Keramevs, "Proiskhozhdenie notnago muzykal'nago pis'ma u sievernykh i iuzhnykh Slavian po pamiatnikam drevnosti, preimushchestvenno vizantiĭskim", *Viestnik Arkheologii i Istorii*, XVII (1906), pp. 134–71.

(31) "O sobranii russkikh drevne-pievcheskikh rukopisei v Moskovskom Sinodal'nom uchilishchie tserkovnago pieniia", *Russkaia Muzykal'naia Gazeta*, VI (1899), No. 3–5, 11–14. Also separate. The analysis mentioned can be found on p. 20 of the separate edition.

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 19 of the separate edition.

Russian musical manuscripts. Although his style of writing is hard to read, strolling erratically from one subject to another only to return to the first subject after a round of many different related and unrelated matters, his book, *The Liturgical Chant of the Russian Church* (33), is an enormous mine of information. He also published the only available collection of facsimiles from numerous Russian musical manuscripts dating from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century (34). From his study of neumatic notation Metallov claimed the "Graeco-Syrian" origin of Russian musical notation, and rejected the idea of Byzantine origin. His *Essay on the History of the Chant of the Orthodox Church in Russia* (35) is still the best survey in existence.

Antoniĭ Viktorovich Preobrazhenskiĭ (1870–1929) was the last of this group of historians of the Church Chant. After having published a bibliography of the Russian Chant and a dictionary of terms related to the Chant (36), both written in a very lucid and concise style, Preobrazhenskiĭ traveled with Smolenskiĭ in 1906 to Mount Athos, where he gathered material for a comparative study of Russian and Byzantine manuscripts. His first report was never published in its entirety, but only in a summary, which with its revolutionary approach brought to light amazing results. His was the discovery that in some instances equivalent Greek and Slavic texts have a similar, if not identical, musical notation (37). Preobrazhenskiĭ's work received practically no attention from scholars, due to the upheavals of the First World War and the revolution in Russia. His postwar publications include a book on religious music in Russia (38), and his last and best, a study of the Russian medieval

(33) *Bogosluzhebnoe pienie russkoi tserkvi v period domongol'skiĭ* (2d ed., Moscow, 1912).

(34) *Russkaia simiografiia* (Moscow, 1912).

(35) *Ocherk istorii pravoslavnago tserkovnago pieniia v Rossii* (1st ed., Saratov, 1893; 2d ed., Moscow, 1896; 3d ed., Moscow, 1900; 4th ed., Moscow, 1915).

(36) *Slovar' russkago tserkovnago pieniia* (Moscow, 1897); and *Po tserkovnomu pieniiu ukazatel' knig, broshiur, zhurnal'nykh statei i rukopisei* (1st ed., Ekaterinoslav, 1897; 2d ed., Moscow, 1900).

(37) "O skhodstvie russkago muzykal'nago pisma s grecheskim v pievchakh rukopisiakh XI–XII v.", *Russkaia Muzykal'naia Gazeta*, XVI (1909), Nos. 8–10. Also separate.

(38) *Kul'tovaia muzyka v Rossii* (Leningrad, 1924). Unfortunately, Preobrazhenskiĭ's essay *Ocherk istorii tserkovnago pieniia v Rossii* (St. Petersburg, 1910) was not available to this writer.

Chant compared with the Byzantine Chant (39). Preobrazhenskiĭ has shown with his charts that there is no room for any doubt that the Russians, after their conversion to Christianity, accepted church music from the Greeks.

After the death of Preobrazhenskiĭ, no serious work nor any attempt at transcription of medieval musical manuscripts has been made in Russia, at least as far as can be judged from the available evidence in musicological publications. The work of Brazhnikov, at this moment the only known historian of music concerned with the Middle Ages, is insignificant and offers no clues to a solution of the mysteries of Russian musical notation (40).

Besides Brazhnikov's work and the rather trivial article of Beliaev, the standard Russian handbooks on the history of music in Russia usually devote a short chapter of a descriptive character to the medieval period (41). The basic attitude tends to be chauvinistic, censuring Razumovskiĭ and Preobrazhenskiĭ for their claims that the Russian Chant was dependent on Byzantine models. Smolenskiĭ's rather uncritical statement that Russia had an earlier

(39) "Greko-russkie pevchie paralleli XII–XIII v.", *De Musica* ("Vremennik Otdela Istorii i Teorii Muzyki Gosudarstvennago Instituta Istorii Iskusstv", Vol. II, Leningrad, 1926), pp. 60–76.

(40) The earliest recorded study by M. V. Brazhnikov, "Novye zadachi issledovaniia pamiatnikov drevne-russkoi muzyki", in *Ocherki po istorii i teorii muzyki—Pervyi sbornik nauchnikh trudov i materialov Gosudarstvennago nauchno-issledovatelnogo instituta teatra i muzyki* (Leningrad, 1939) was not available to this writer. Brazhnikov's book *Puti razvitiia i zadachi rasshifrovki znamennogo rospeva XII–XVII vekov. Primenenie nekotorykh statisticheskikh metodov k issledovaniiu muzykal'nykh iavlenii* (Leningrad, 1949), although an interesting experiment with statistical methods, offers no suggestions whatsoever concerning the problem of transcription of neumes in medieval manuscripts. An article by Brazhnikov, "Russkie pevcheskie rukopisi i russkaia paleografiia", *Trudy otdela drevne-russkoi literatury* (Institut russkoi literatury Akad. Nauk SSSR), Vol. VII (1949), pp. 429–54, valuable as it is still offers no new ideas on the subject.

(41) V. M. Beliaev's article of a cyclopedic character appeared in *Istoriia kul'tury drevnei Rusi*, eds. N. N. Voronin and M. K. Karger, Vol. II (Moscow, 1951), pp. 492–509. The standard handbooks dealing with the early period are *Istoriia russkoi muzyki*, ed. M. S. Pekelis, Vol. I (Moscow, 1940), and *Istoriia russkoi muzyki*, ed. Iu. V. Keldysh, Vol. I (Moscow, 1947). The most recent publication, the handbook published under the auspices of the Moscow Conservatory *Istoriia russkoi muzyki*, Vol. I (Moscow, 1957), in the chapter written by T. V. Popova, leans heavily on Beliaev's authority, and on p. 28 explicitly censures Razumovskiĭ and Preobrazhenskiĭ.

chant and a notation of its own is hailed and serves as the sole authority, unchallenged by critical studies (42).

At the turn of the century, at about the time when Russian scholars were exploring their Medieval Chant, significant progress was being made in Western European countries in the field of Byzantine music, gradually leading to studies of the Russian Chant. One of the scholars who had a great reputation, Father Thibaut, was the first Westerner to become acquainted with some of the achievements of Russian research (43). It was only in 1908 that Oskar von Riesemann, at first in his dissertation and then in 1909 in his article in the *Riemann-Festschrift*, made known to Western European musical scholars the results of Russian achievements of more than half a century (44).

(42) How far all this may go is best illustrated in the last edition of the Soviet Encyclopedia, which contains informative articles on Razumovskiĭ, Smolenskiĭ and Metallov but does not even list Preobrazhenskiĭ. It is stated about Smolenskiĭ that the "scholarly value [of Smolenskiĭ's works] is diminished because of his reactionary views", see *Bolshaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia*, 2d ed., Vol. 39 (1956), pp. 421–22.

The article on Byzantine music, *ibid.*, Vol. 8 (1951), pp. 47–48, states that the official musical art was a "weapon of reactionary policies of the despotic Empire aiming at the subjugation of the musical arts of other peoples", and "Even while accepting some of the theoretical foundations of Byzantine music (the eight modes), the melodic content of church music of Old Russia was original and based on the intonations of Russian folk music. Already in the eleventh century there is a tendency to juxtapose original songs to Byzantine models. This was a part of the general struggle of Kievan Russia against Byzantine attempts to impose their political and spiritual dominance".

(43) Thibaut claimed that the Russians accepted what he called "Constantinopolitan" neumatic notation and not the "Hagiopolitan". Cf.: "La notation de St. Jean Damascène ou Hagiopolite", *Izviestiia russkago arkheologicheskago instituta v Konstantinopolie*, III (Sofia, 1898), pp. 141–43; and *Origine byzantine de la notation neumatique de l'église latine* (Paris, 1907), p. 36. A very thorough discussion of Thibaut's views concerning Slavic manuscripts and sharp criticism of Thibaut was made by Konstantin I. Papadopulos-Keramevs, "Printsip tserkovno-vizantiĭskago notnago pis'ma po dannym slavianskikh i grecheskikh muzykalno-bogosluzhebnykh pamiatnikov", *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremennik*, XV (1908), pp. 49–70. Thibaut's paper "La musique byzantine chez les Slaves", *Tribune de St. Gervais*, X (1904), pp. 157–62, is so full of platitudes that it scarcely deserves mentioning in a survey.

(44) *Die Notation des altrussischen Kirchengesanges* [Diss., Leipzig, 1907] (Moscow, 1908), and one year later reissued in *Publikationen der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft, Beihefte* (Second Series), VIII (Leipzig, 1909); also, "Zur Frage der Entzifferung der altbyzantinischen Neumen", *Riemann-Festschrift* (Leipzig, 1909), pp. 189–99. The latter is a description of Preobrazhenskiĭ's article mentioned in n. 37 above.

It was Riesemann again who in 1924 summarized the knowledge about the Russian Chant in his contribution to Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (45). But as early as 1921, one of the great musicologists and scholars, H. J. W. Tillyard, in an added note to one of his articles, pointed out the similarity between the notation which appears in Russian musical manuscripts and that which came to be called *Coislin-notation*. He even offered a tentative transcription of one hirmos, which Smolenskiĭ published in facsimile in 1887 (46). Tillyard did not publish any further work dealing with the Slavic Chant except for another cursory remark about the importance of the *Coislin-notation* for the possible solution of the neumatic notation in Russian musical manuscripts (47).

Since 1928 a German scholar, Erwin Koschmieder, has been working in this field. His first study was a summary of the work of his predecessors (48). From the point of view of comparative studies, Koschmieder's most important contribution is an article published in 1932. In it he followed Preobrazhenskiĭ's example and compared the notation of one hirmos in an early Slavic manuscript with the same hirmos in a late Slavic and a medieval Byzantine manuscript (49). Although he did not find a clue for transcription, this was a serious attempt along promising lines of comparison. After

(45) "Der russische Kirchengesang", in *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, ed. Guido Adler (2d ed., Berlin, 1930), pp. 140–48.

(46) "The Problems of Byzantine Neumes", *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLI (1921), p. 42. The hirmos which Tillyard tentatively transcribed is from the manuscript which was formerly in the library of the Monastery of the Resurrection, called "New Jerusalem", folio 3r. Tillyard refers to the facsimile which Thibaut published in his *Origine Byzantine* ..., Plate VIII, as his source. Thibaut published this facsimile without referring to his source, which is Smolenskiĭ's *Kratkoe opisanie* ... (see p. 26, n. 29), where this hirmos can be found reproduced on Plate I. Thibaut did refer earlier to Smolenskiĭ's study in his article in *Izviestiia russkago* ..., III, p. 143.

(47) *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVII (1937), p. 358.

(48) "Die wichtigsten Hilfsmittel zum Studium des russischen Kirchengesanges", *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, Neue Folge, Vol. IV, Fasc. 1 (Breslau, 1928), pp. 49–64.

(49) *Przyczynki do zagadnienia chomonji w hirmosach rosyjskich* (Wilno, 1932), p. 27. The hirmos analyzed is Χριστὸς γεννᾶται. On p. 8, Koschmieder gives interesting examples of the uses of a melodic formula and its variants and enlargements.

this study, Koschmieder discussed purely theoretically the value of Russian musical manuscripts for the understanding of earlier phases of Byzantine notation, but without any attempt at deciphering the neumatic notation (50). One of his most valuable contributions is his recent publication of the so-called *Novgorod fragments*, two of the oldest remnants of Slavic hirmologia from the twelfth century (51). He put side by side the Slavic text with the neumes of the twelfth century, the corresponding lines from the Byzantine manuscript *Coislin 220* (in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), and his own transcriptions of a late Russian manuscript from the seventeenth century. He did not attempt to transcribe the Novgorod fragments because he still had misgivings concerning the validity of the modern transcriptions of Byzantine neumes (52). A basic deficiency of Koschmieder's publication is that the neumes are apparently copied by hand, instead of printing photostats of the manuscripts, and a scribe remains a scribe, whether in the twelfth or in the twentieth century. The few discrepancies that can be detected in comparing his text with the photostats of the Chilandar Hirmologion, which Koschmieder used in part, suggest a warning to be cautious when handling this "facsimile" edition. The most recent article by Koschmieder dealing with this field, shows a much more critical attitude in approach and evaluation of source materials (52a).

Shortly after Koschmieder's first article was published, a book on the Slavic Chant appeared, written by Peter Panoff (53). This book presents nothing new for the study of the Slavic Chant in the Middle Ages.

(50) "Zur Bedeutung der russischen liturgischen Gesangstradition für die Entzifferung der byzantinischen Neumen", *Kyrios*, V (1940), pp. 1–24; "Die ekphonetische Notation in kirchenslawischen Sprachdenkmälern", *Südostforschungen*, V (1940), pp. 22–32.

(51) *Die ältesten Novgoroder Hirmologien-Fragmente* ("Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften", Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Heft 35 (1952) and 37 (1955)), called KI (Heft 35) and K II (Heft 37) throughout this study. The concluding part appeared *ibid.*, 1958, Heft 45.

(52) *Ibid.*, Heft 37 (1955), p. 27.

(52a) E. Koschmieder, "Zur Herkunft der slavischen Krjuki-Notationen", *Festschrift für Dmytro Čyževśkyj zum 60. Geburtstag*, "Veröffentlichungen der Abteilung für slavische Sprachen und Literaturen des Osteuropa-Instituts (Slavisches Seminar) an der Freien Universität Berlin", Bd. 6, (Berlin, 1954), pp. 146–52.

(53) *Die altslavische Volks- und Kirchenmusik* ("Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft", ed. Ernst Bücken, Potsdam, 1930).

From 1936 on, an American scholar, Alfred J. Swan, published a number of papers and articles of outstanding quality (54). His works, however, deal primarily with later periods and are concerned with the problems of practical performance.

Two important discussions of the problems related to the Russian medieval Chant by two eminent musicologists of great repute appeared in 1952 and 1953. Jacques Handschin published his short study on the Russian Chant with a brief sketch of its history and an analysis of its formal structure, which is unfortunately based on melodies from late eighteenth century printed editions (55). Carsten Høeg, a classicist and expert in the field of Byzantine ekphonetic notation, became attracted to the problems offered by Russian notation of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. His study, "The Oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music", shows a deep insight into the intricacies of the notations, and sheds new light on the problems of transcription of the Russian neumatic notation (56). Høeg's most recent article (56a) however, represents one of the most important contributions to the study of the neumatic notation in Slavic medieval manuscripts. By using a methodologically similar approach Høeg arrived at principles of interpretation basically identical to those on which this writer had been working independently at the same time.

(54) "Music of the Eastern Churches", *The Musical Quarterly*, XXII (1936), pp. 430–34; his most important study is "The Znamenny Chant of the Russian Church", *The Musical Quarterly*, XXVI (1940), pp. 232–43, 365–80, 529–45. In addition should be mentioned: "Old Byzantine and Russian Liturgical Chant" (abstract), *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society*, VIII (1945), pp. 22–23; his articles on Russian Church Music in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Eric Blom (5th ed., London, 1954), Vol. VII, pp. 333–36, and Vol. IX, p. 424. See also p. 18, n. 3.

(55) "Le chant ecclésiastique russe", *Acta Musicologica*, XXIV (1952), pp. 3–32.

(56) "The Oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XXXIX (1953), pp. 37–66, with four plates. Høeg compared the neumatic notation of one hirmos by superimposing the neumes from three Byzantine musical manuscripts and the notation of the same hirmos from Koschmieder's publication of the Novgorod Fragments. This is in essence Preobrazhenskiĭ's method. Høeg's chart served as an immediate model and stimulus for comparative charts of neumatic notation from a larger number of Slavic and Byzantine musical manuscripts, which were used in this research.

(56a) C. Høeg, "Ein Buch altrussischer Kirchengesänge", *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*, XXV (1956), pp. 261–84.

A book on the Slavic Chant by Madame Palikarova-Verdeil appeared in 1953 in the "Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae" series (57). Previous to the publication of this book, its author had published articles in a number of journals (58). Madame Palikarova-Verdeil's book is a compilative work which restates numerous known facts in a Western language, and brings the field of research in the Russian Chant closer to non-Slavic scholars. As the title indicates, it is primarily concerned with stressing the intermediary role of the Bulgarians between the Greeks and the Russians. Despite this slight bias, some minor oversights (59), and some translations of Slavic texts which need critical reexamination (60), Madame Palikarova-Verdeil's book is valuable because it raises a number of provocative questions which could not be answered satisfactorily in a volume of that size.

(57) *La Musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (du IXe au XIVe siècle)*, ("Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae", Series "Subsidia", III, Copenhague, 1953).

(58) "La musique byzantine chez les Slaves, Bulgares et Russes, aux IXe et Xe siècles", *Byzantinoslavica*, X (1949), pp. 268–74; "La musicologie byzantine et les documents slavons", *Byzantinoslavica*, XI (1950), pp. 82–89; "La musique byzantine chez les Slaves (Bulgares et Russes) aux IXe et Xe siècles", *Actes du VIe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, II (Paris, 1951), pp. 321–30; "Les notations musicales employees dans les églises Slaves au IXe siècle", *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra (Roma, 25–30 Maggio, 1950)* (Tournai, 1952), pp. 114–18.

(59) When listing manuscripts, Mme. Palikarova-Verdeil lists Codex Petropolitanus CCCLXI (p. 112) without mentioning that these two folios have been identified as missing from the manuscript B. 32 in the Great Laura of Mount Athos, although Wellesz had already pointed out this fact in *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford, 1949), p. 229, as had Høeg in *The Hymns of the Hirmologium* ("Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae", Series "Transcripta", VI, Copenhagen, 1952), p. xiv.

Throughout her book Mme. Palikarova-Verdeil refers to Macedonia as a Bulgarian domain, which ignores the history of that province. The claim that *Justiniana Prima* is identical with Ohrid (p. 196, n. 2) is outdated. See A. Grabar, "Les monuments de Tsaritchin Grad et Justiniana Prima", *Cahiers Archéologiques*, III (1948), pp. 49–63. In addition see the bibliography on that subject in V. R. Petković, "Les fouilles de Tsaritchin Grad", *Ibid.*, p. 40. The claim that Kukuzeles was a Bulgarian (pp. 193–204) is farfetched. It would be more accurate to call him a Southern Slav, without claiming either Bulgarian or Macedonian nationality.

(60) On p. 69 of her book Mme. Palikarova-Verdeil several times inserts in the French text the word *choeur*, for which there is no justification in any of the cited Slavic texts.

Among the more recent publications, Arbatskiĭ's book on the history of Russian music (61) can be dismissed, since its presentation consists of personal meditations on the subject, rather than a scholarly discussion.

In most recent times the problems of transcription of Russian neumatic notation became a serious concern of Oliver Strunk. With a Yugoslav assistant, Stojan Lazarević, he is studying the relationship between the neumatic notation of Russian musical manuscripts and Byzantine manuscripts with Coislin-notation (62).

In addition to this survey, a few general remarks about the character of the work done up to the present may be appropriate. Until the appearance of Preobrazhenskiĭ's studies all other scholars, both Russian and Western, had a similar approach to the study of the medieval Russian Chant. They were trying to find a clue for the old Russian notation by going backwards through the centuries and projecting into the Middle Ages the terminology, the melodies, and even the practices of later centuries, thus ignoring the changes of readings and of concepts that have taken place. Preobrazhenskiĭ was the first to conceive the idea of direct comparison of contemporary Greek and Slavic musical manuscripts. Unfortunately, he apparently was not acquainted with the work and achievements of Western European scholars in deciphering the Byzantine neumatic notation, and their transcriptions of it into modern notation. Koschmieder followed Preobrazhenskiĭ's method with only one example of such work. Høeg contributed a few more examples of this sort, as did Madame Palikarova-Verdeil.

This writer believes that Preobrazhenskiĭ's approach was the right one, and that the time is ripe now to tackle the problem of transcription of the neumatic notation in Russian medieval musical manuscripts on a larger scale.

(61) Yuriĭ Arbatskiĭ, *Etiudy po istorii russkoi muzyki*, (New York, 1956). According to Arbatskiĭ the transcriptions of neumatic notation are "problematical" and therefore he prefers not to include a discussion of that subject. See p. 160 of his book.

(62) Professor Strunk and Mr. Lazarević have kindly informed this writer about their current work.

CHAPTER III

THE STRUCTURE OF HIRMOLOGIA

The research for this study was centered around the Slavic Hirmologion now in the library of the Serbian Monastery Chilandar on Mount Athos (1). For comparative purposes fragments of two other Slavic hirmologia were used, one recently published by Koschmieder and known as one of the *Novgorod fragments* (2), and a few hirmoi from a hirmologion which was formerly in the library of the Monastery of the Resurrection, called "New Jerusalem", near Moscow, and which had been published "in facsimile" by Smolenskiĭ (3). For comparative Greek material, in addition to the two hirmologia which were published in facsimile in the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae series, ten more manuscripts or fragments were used, all of which were available on microfilms.

The basic problem was whether there is any concordance between the texts and the neumatic notation in Greek and Slavic manuscripts. The question of texts was relatively easily solved by compiling a full index of incipits and establishing which Slavic texts have Greek equivalents. The results was that of one hundred ninety-nine hirmoi in the Chilandar Manuscript, all but three hirmoi have equivalents in Greek manuscripts. This fact alone once again substantiated the never disputed point, that the church books of the Slavs were faithful replicas of their Greek models.

The relationship between the neumatic notations above the equivalent Greek and Slavic texts was a more difficult problem. If

(1) *Fragmenta Chiliandarica Palaeoslavica* ("Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae", Vol. V, Fasc. B, Hirmologium, Copenhagen, 1957). For pertinent data about the manuscript see *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Fasc. A, p. 9.

(2) See p. 32, n. 51.

(3) See p. 26, n. 29. The "facsimiles" of the selected hirmoi were hand drawn through tracing paper, and Smolenskiĭ testifies to their faithfulness and accuracy after having checked every letter and every single neume. See *Kratkoe opisanie* ..., p. 18.

one could determine that there is substantial agreement in the notation of the two different versions, then one could hope that a key for transcription into modern notation could be found. In order to study this relationship, and at the same time to test results obtained earlier by Preobrazhenskiĭ (4), a number of comparative charts of neumatic notation were compiled. Since the preliminary results overwhelmingly supported Preobrazhenskiĭ's findings, the compilation of charts was extended so that it covered the whole content of the Chilandar Hirmologion. The comparative study of neumatic notation above the equivalent Greek and Slavic texts devised by Preobrazhenskiĭ offered a direct approach to the understanding of a number of problems, even though it did not solve all details and still does not provide for a complete transcription of any hymn or fragment of the Slavic Chant.

Results obtained in this research are demonstrated with the hirmoi of Mode I only, of which there are seventy-five in the Chilandar Manuscript. More than one half of these, forty-five to be exact, are offered in Appendix I with full comparative material. The study of the relationships and of the possibility of transcription of the neumatic notation for the hirmoi of Modes II and III in the Chilandar Manuscript is still in progress.

A comparison of the Slavic and Greek hirmologia discloses that the division into eight modes (5) is the only consistent element in all these manuscripts. In the numbering of the modes there is a distinct difference between the Slavic and Greek usages. The Slavic musical terminology does not use the term "plagal". The equivalents are:

Greek	*Slavic*
Mode I	Mode I
,, II	,, II
,, III	,, III
,, IV	,, IV
,, I Plagal	,, V
,, II ,,	,, VI
,, III ,,	,, VII
,, IV ,,	,, VIII

(4) See p. 28, n. 37 and p. 29, n. 39.

(5) Throughout this study the term *mode* is used consistently as an equivalent for the Greek ἦχος and Slavic ΓΛΑC.

A *hirmologion* contains *hirmoi*, or the first stanzas of poems called *odes*, nine of which constitute a *kanon*. The topic for each ode is fixed by tradition, as is the number of odes, although in some kanons, hirmoi for one or more odes may be missing, and certain kanons may have more than one hirmos for an ode. Each hirmos is followed by a number of additional stanzas or *troparia* which are omitted from the hirmologion proper. It contains only the model stanzas with their melodies, and their metrical and rhythmical schemes.

Every hirmologion may be divided into eight sections, each of which contains hirmoi sung according to a particular mode. Within the modes, the hirmoi may be arranged in either of two distinct systems. This division is most important, since it establishes two different categories of manuscripts. One arrangement is the *Order of Kanons*, which is encountered in the majority of Byzantine medieval hirmologia. Each kanon is presented in its entirety with all its odes, and each ode is represented by at least one hirmos. Koschmieder suggested as a designation for this particular order of hirmoi the abbreviation *KaO*, which clearly expresses this arrangement (6).

A relatively small group of Byzantine manuscripts and *all known Slavic hirmologia* follow a different structural organization. All hirmoi of one mode are arranged according to the odes, not according to the kanons which they constitute. This means that the whole bulk of hirmoi within one mode is divided into nine groups, and each of these groups contains all the hirmoi for one particular ode. Koschmieder suggested for this group of manuscripts the abbreviation *OdO*, which stands for the *Order of Odes* (7).

To clarify this distinction the following scheme presents in simplified form these two different arrangements of hirmoi:

Kanon 1 Ode 1	Kanon 1 Ode 2	Kanon 1 Ode 3	Kanon 1 Ode 4	Kanon 1 Ode 5	Kanon 1 Ode 6	etc.
Kanon 2 Ode 1	Kanon 2 Ode 2	Kanon 2 Ode 3	Kanon 2 Ode 4	Kanon 2 Ode 5	Kanon 2 Ode 6	etc.
Kanon 3 Ode 1	Kanon 3 Ode 2	Kanon 3 Ode 3	Kanon 3 Ode 4	Kanon 3 Ode 5	Kanon 3 Ode 6	etc.

(6) Koschmieder, II, p. 69.

(7) *Ibid.*

If read horizontally the Order of Kanons, or KaO, is obtained; the Order of Odes, or OdO, is obtained by reading the chart vertically.

It should be added that certain kanons may contain more than one hirmos for a particular ode and that therefore every rectangle above may be interpreted to read *e.g.*:

Kanon 2

One or several hirmoi for Ode 4.

Koschmieder, who suggested these apt abbreviations, apparently was not acquainted with Greek sources of the OdO type. Noticing this arrangement of hirmoi in Slavic manuscripts only, he was inclined to ascribe this order to the Slavs as their "invention" (8). The validity of this assertion is denied by the existence of at least one fragment of a Greek manuscript with the OdO arrangement, which antedates known Slavic manuscripts by at least one century (9).

The relationship of the Slavic and the Greek manuscripts becomes a very complicated problem as one studies this division of manuscripts according to the arrangement of the hirmoi. The establishment of two categories has had rather important consequences. For instance, the majority of KaO manuscripts is believed to have originated in the area around Constantinople and its closely related domains—Mt. Athos and its outposts in the Central Mediterranean including Grottaferrata. Almost all of the OdO manuscripts, on the other hand, seem to have originated in Palestine or Sinai. Thus a division according to the order of hirmoi is seen to be related to a territorial division. Furthermore, it has been possible to establish that the manuscripts differ, not only according to the arrangement of hirmoi, but that this division conforms basically to two different melodic traditions as well, although the lines of division are not absolutely sharp (10).

Were the question of the relationship between the Slavic and Greek manuscripts to be solved on the basis of the arrangement

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 70.

(9) The two leaves bound in Ms. No. 1284, Supplément grec, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Cf. A. Gastoué, *Catalogue des manuscrits de musique byzantine de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris et des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1907), pp. 93–94, and Plate IV.

(10) See below pp. 69.

of the hirmoi alone, the answer would have been relatively simple, stating that the Slavs probably had Palestinian models which they followed, and that the Slavs accepted their OdO hirmologion. Yet this is only one part of the whole picture. After a list of equivalent incipits and a table of concordances were compiled, showing the appearance or absence of a particular hirmos in a relatively large number of manuscripts, it became obvious that Slavic sources contained a number of hirmoi which were not located in any of the extant manuscripts of the OdO type, i.e., of Palestinian origin, and for which the only sources were some of the oldest manuscripts of the KaO group, of Constantinopolitan provenance. Even with this problem unsolved, one could assume that the Slavs accepted the Palestinian order of hirmoi and borrowed a number of individual hirmoi for reasons which are too elusive to understand today. When one turns to the neumatic notation above the equivalent texts, the puzzle becomes bewildering, since the majority of melodic formulae located in Slavic hirmologia agree both in the melodic outline and the position in the text, with identical formulae in Greek manuscripts of the KaO type.

Before proceeding with the comparative studies, there follows a presentation of the basic features of Greek manuscripts of the hirmologion.

I. Manuscripts of the KaO type

To this group belong both Greek hirmologia published in facsimile in the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae series. This order of hirmoi had been accepted by scholars in their discussions as the "normal" type of arrangement in the Middle Ages. Yet even within this group there is considerable variation in the total number of hirmoi which appear within one mode. It was to be expected that a deeper investigation of this kind of discrepancy in the number of hirmoi, would ultimately lead to the analysis of the manuscript traditions, and the establishment of "families" of manuscripts. This aspect of research has received surprisingly little attention. The only account which covers briefly the relationships of manuscripts is the one by Høeg (11).

(11) Carsten Høeg, *The Hymns of the Hirmologium* ("Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae", Series "Transcripta", VI, Copenhagen, 1952), pp. xvii–L.

The number of kanons and of hirmoi in KaO manuscripts reveals the existence of three different stages in their history. The earliest stage is at the same time the richest. The oldest manuscripts and fragments contain a large number of individual hirmoi which disappear from later manuscripts. Of those hirmoi which have been dropped in the second stage, some reappear later, more often in the OdO manuscripts than in the KaO manuscripts. The oldest KaO hirmologia are the Hirmologion in the Great Laura on Mt. Athos, B. 32 (siglum L); Manuscript No. 83 in the collection St. Sabas in Jerusalem (siglum S); and the fragment now in Leningrad, often referred to as Codex Petropolitanus DLVII (suggested siglum Lg) (12), which contains a number of kanons of Mode III, and shows a remarkable similarity to the order of kanons in S. Concerning chronological order, there can be no doubt that L is older than the other two. There is also a possibility that the fragment Lg should be dated before S. All three of these manuscripts date from before the end of the eleventh century.

The middle stage in the development of the hirmologion dates from the twelfth century. Three manuscripts which are as identical as medieval manuscripts can be are: the Iviron Hirmologion (siglum H); Manuscript Coislin 220 (siglum O), in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; and the older of the two hirmologia in Grottaferrata, E. γ. III (siglum Ga). To this group should be added the second Grottaferrata Hirmologion, E. γ. II (siglum G), although it is of a slightly later date (13). The basic feature of this group of manuscripts, besides a smaller number of hirmoi than in the preceding stage, is their incredibly similar order of kanons. The differ-

(12) For basic data concerning manuscripts L and S, see Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., pp. xiv–xv. For information about and the full facsimile of Lg, see J. B. Thibaut, *Monuments de la Notation Ekphonétique et Hagiopolite de l'Eglise Grecque* (Saint Pétersbourg, 1913), pp. 65–72 and Plates VI–XXIII.

(13) The manuscripts H and G are published in facsimile in the main series of "Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae". Manuscript O is described by Gastoué, *Catalogue* ..., p. 89, and also by R. Devreesse, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs, II, Le Fonds Coislin* ("Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits", Paris, 1945), p. 202. Manuscript Ga, although listed several times, has never yet been described in a satisfactory way. It contains a number of blank pages which stand for lost leaves. The first 20 folios are bound in a wrong order. If the order were changed to read: Fol. 16–19, Fol. 10–13, and Fol. 2–7, then the order of kanons in H and O appears unchanged. For basic data see Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., pp. xii–xv.

ences appearing in G have been successfully explained by Høeg (14).

The latest stage in the development of KaO manuscripts should be dated from the middle of the thirteenth century. On the basis of the available material it seems possible to conclude that one of the basic features of this group is a further decrease in the number of kanons. Had the content of each kanon remained the same throughout these different stages, one could suggest that a certain number of kanons, either by a particular author, or intended for a particular feast, were dropped for reasons unknown today. The truth is that the changes were much more complex than a simple elimination of this or that kanon. Starting from the second stage, and particularly in the manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, one may encounter kanons containing hirmoi which belonged to entirely different kanons in the earlier manuscripts. Furthermore, some of the kanons in earlier manuscripts may have contained several hirmoi for one ode, and not every manuscript would list all of these "doubles" (15). These additional hirmoi for a particular ode, may have played quite a significant role in the appearance of the *composite kanons* (16).

A practical demonstration of relationships of manuscripts may be obtained from an analysis of the following chart, which presents the order of kanons of Mode I in KaO manuscripts. In this, as in any other study, it is necessary to have a central orientation point. Therefore, in this study the succession of kanons and of the hirmoi within one ode as they appear in H is accepted as "correct".

An important reminder concerns the numbering of kanons, particularly in the fourteenth century manuscripts. Whatever the number of a kanon in the chart, in the majority of instances it will be a composite kanon containing at least one hirmos which

(14) Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. xviii.

(15) In order to distinguish between several hirmoi for one ode, throughout this study a system of lettering has been adopted. For instance, if in Kanon 15, Ode 8 is represented by four different hirmoi, in a table of contents of that kanon, the hirmoi will be listed as 8a, 8b, 8c, and 8d (and correspondingly in any survey of manuscripts of the KaO type). If, however, manuscripts of the OdO type are listed, these same hirmoi would in this case be listed as 15a, 15b, 15c, and 15d.

(16) The term *composite kanon* is used as a designation for a kanon containing hirmoi, which in older manuscripts may have belonged to several different kanons and are now assembled to constitute one single kanon.

belonged to a different kanon in earlier manuscripts. This is exemplified to an extreme degree in a thirteenth century manuscript, the Washington Hirmologion (siglum W) (17), which probably represents the peak of confusion in the compilation of composite kanons. For this reason it is omitted from the chart.

Of all the manuscripts used in the compilation of the figure (18) the most interesting one is Rp, which stands halfway between the KaO and OdO manuscripts, containing both types of arrangement of hirmoi. For instance, hirmoi of Modes II, III, III Plagal and IV Plagal are all arranged in the OdO fashion with an "appendix" at the end of each mode containing a few kanons in their entirety. In other modes, Mode I among them, the order follows the KaO type in the beginning, switching later to the OdO arrangement. The section which follows the KaO arrangement, as represented in the figure, reveals a very close similarity to the order in Ku and Vb. Manuscript Vb is defective at the end of Mode I (19) and it is quite likely that the missing folios, if recovered, would have completed the order of kanons identical to that in Ku. Even the switch to the OdO structure does not change the picture in Rp since the hirmoi are from the same kanons, and in the same order as in Ku.

These three manuscripts, Ku, Vb and Rp are as closely related to each other as were the twelfth century group of manuscripts, H, O and Ga. This new group has the advantage for historical studies that it is ultimately related to the order of kanons appearing in an older manuscript, La (20). A glance at the chart discloses that the younger manuscripts have inverted the original order of La, yet have retained all (except two) kanons appearing in that manuscript. Even manuscript Y retains all kanons, even though it

(17) Ms. No. M. 2156. XII. M. 1 in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, Vol. I (New York, 1935), p. 244.

(18) All manuscripts used in this figure are described briefly by Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., pp. xiii–xvi, except for Ku-2 and Rp. Ku-2 is a new siglum for the manuscript which Høeg designated Si. Rp is a siglum for Codex Palat. Graec. 243, in Rome. A microfilm of this manuscript was kindly placed at this writer's disposal by Dr. Kenneth Levy of Brandeis University.

(19) Cf. Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. xvi.

(20) The order of kanons in La is reconstructed from Høeg's *Conspectus Canonum* (*The Hymns* ..., pp. 320–22) since no microfilm of this manuscript was available to this writer.

changes the order in a peculiar way. Ku-2 represents an even further step in the reduction of the number of kanons and hirmoi.

In reading the figure it should be kept in mind that:

a) Lacunae in manuscripts are indicated by blank spaces. (In the case of the 33d and 34th kanons in S, the microfilm which was available was defective; a frame covering these kanons was missing).

b) Kanons missing in H are indicated with asterisks. An exception to this rule was applied to kanons which were located in more than one manuscript. In the latter case the kanons are labeled by letters of the alphabet.

c) The appearance of the same kanon number in more than one place indicates a *composite kanon*, in which the hirmos for the first ode was the determining one for this chart.

d) The last kanon in the mode is underlined. In the case of La, which was unavailable, a question mark is added. For Vb, see above, note 19.

This figure may be used as an example of an order which reappears in other modes as well, although, of course, not without certain variations and deviations. Conclusions reached after an analysis of this figure (which are, incidentally, supported in similar charts for other modes) may be summed up as follows:

a) It would seem that in the eleventh century at the latest, two versions of the hirmologion of the KaO type may have existed. The shorter version is known today only from La, while the longer group is represented by L, S and the fragment Lg.

b) At the end of the eleventh and in the course of the twelfth centuries a condensation of the longer version took place, and only roughly two thirds of the existing number of kanons were retained in the new versions, represented by H, O and Ga.

c) The reduction in the number of hirmoi and of kanons may have had as a side effect the creation of *composite kanons*. One of the best representatives of this type of manuscript is the Washington Hirmologion.

d) The shorter version, represented by La, survived through the thirteenth century, accepting in some instances the influences of the composite kanons, and in the fourteenth century served as a model for many more manuscripts.

e) Concerning the place of origin or territorial distribution of the KaO type of manuscript, only one third of the manuscripts

Order of Kanons of Mode I in KaO manuscripts

L	S	La	Ga	O	H	G	Ku	Vb	Ku-2	Y	Rp
		1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4		4	2	2	2	8	4	4	8	15	4
5		6	3	3	3	15	6	6	9	16	6
11		7	4	4	4	10	5	5	6	22	5
23		5		5	5	16	7	7	15	21	7
12		8		6	6	4	10	10	5	10	10
6		9	7	7	7	5	8	8	16	8	8 (9)
	14	10	8	8	8	6	9	9	22	8	8
8	13	14	9	9	9	7	14	14	4	9	[turn
13	12	15		10	10	8	15	15	14	14	to OdO]
15	15	16		11	11	9	16	?		7	
16	16	22	12	12	12	11	21			6	
17	17	21	13	13	13	14	22			5	
18	18	17	14	14	14	15				4	
19	22	25	15	15	15	17					
21	21	?	16	16	16	18					
22	23		17	17	17	21					
b	19		18	18	18	25					
20	20		19	19	19	26					
*	24		20	20	20	3 – appendix					
c	*		21	21	21	12					
*	25		22	22	22	13					
a	a		23	23	23	19					
*	26		24	24	24	6					
25	d		25	25	25	23					
d	b		26	26	26	24					
26	c		a								
10	*										
*	e										
14	*										
*	*										
*	*										
e											
f											
*	*										
g	g										
*	*										
*	*										
24	f										
*	*										
	*										

listed in the figure are still on Mount Athos (21). There is a great probability that another third of the manuscripts may have originated on Mount Athos (22), thus supporting a hypothesis that the KaO arrangement of hirmoi may have been practiced by Constantinopolitan and Athonite monastic communities. There is no tangible proof available to substantiate this hypothesis; it relies on indirect evidence. As will be seen, the OdO manuscripts are all in Palestine and on Sinai, except for a fragment in Paris. As far as this writer knows, there is nowhere a reference to manuscripts of the OdO type on Mount Athos. This fact, in addition to the present whereabouts of manuscripts of the OdO type, makes it plausible to assume that the OdO type was used in Palestine, while the KaO type was the order accepted by the monastic communities of Mount Athos and of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate.

II. Manuscripts of the OdO type

The arrangement of hirmoi according to the order of odes is usually considered a more recent development, having originated some time in the thirteenth century. On the other hand, it is known that there is extant one fragment of only two folios from the eleventh century, PSg, which has this particular arrangement. The extant OdO manuscripts are the following.

PSg, from the eleventh century.

Ku-3, dated 1257 A. D.

Sa and Sb, considered to be from the fourteenth century, with

(21) These are L, La, H and Vb.

(22) Manuscript O is now in Paris, yet it should be kept in mind that a great part of the Coislin collection *was acquired* on Mount Athos. Cf. B. Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Coisliniana, olim Segueriana*, (Paris, 1715), p. ii of the preface, unnumbered in the book. See also Devreesse, *Catalogue* ..., pp. vii–xvi.

If the reconstructed order of folios in Ga is accepted, another manuscript with the same order appears. It is very likely that all three manuscripts, Ga, O and H were written in a scriptorium on or near Mount Athos. If this hypothesis could be proven it would contradict Høeg's statement concerning the origin of Ga in *The Hymns* ..., p. xvii.

Manuscript Ku also seems to have originated near Mt. Athos, because of the order of its kanons which is practically identical to that in Vb and La (with a few easily accountable inversions). This same criterion would include Y, Rp particularly, and Ku-2 in this group.

the possibility that Sa may have been written at the end of the thirteenth century (23).

One striking point about these manuscripts, except for PSg, for which no data on its original location are available, is that all three are now in Jerusalem or Sinai. It is safe to assume that they are copies of still older manuscripts which are now lost, or perhaps as yet undiscovered.

To this group of manuscripts could be added the curious and ambiguous Rp, mentioned previously. In four out of eight modes the order is OdO and even in modes in which KaO starts at first, there is a switch to the ode arrangement. It should be added, however, that in the choice of hirmoi, manuscript Rp shows considerable differences from other OdO manuscripts.

While discussing KaO manuscripts, it was mentioned that one could divide them chronologically into three groups, each of which had a different number of kanons. The trend toward reduction in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, may be encountered in the OdO type as well. As one progresses into the fourteenth century (and perhaps even slightly before that time), this trend becomes reversed and manuscripts of the OdO type show an increase in the number of hirmoi. In a number of instances the hirmoi which are added are those which were discarded from the oldest group of manuscripts of the KaO type, i.e. L and S.

Since the Slavic hirmologia are arranged according to the order of odes, it is interesting to compare the order of hirmoi in Slavic and Greek manuscripts. The following samples of the order of hirmoi in two Slavic and two Greek hirmologia are typical of the general relationship which exists between these two groups. As in the case of the chart of the KaO type of manuscripts, certain clarifications are needed when reading the chart:

a) An asterisk indicates a hirmos whose kanon remained unidentified at the time of compilation of these charts.

b) In cases when a kanon has more than one hirmos for a particular ode, they are distinguished by additional letters, so that 8b means the second hirmos for the ode in question in kanon 8.

c) Numbers in parentheses indicate that the manuscript con-

(23) For data about PSg, see above, p. 39, n. 9. Concerning Sa and Sb see Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., pp. xv–xvi. Ku-3 is a hirmologion, Ms. No. 1258 in the library of the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai.

tains the text only, without neumatic notation, which is a relatively frequent occurrence in Sb.

d) The bracketed number in Sa, Ode 6, indicates the repetition of the hirmos.

Order of hirmoi in Odes 5, 6 and 7 of Mode I in OdO manuscripts.

Ode 5				Ode 6				Ode 7			
No	Ch	Sa	Sb	No	Ch	Sa	Sb	No	Ch	Sa	Sb
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	15	15	8a	15b	15b	15b	8a	15a	15a	15a	8a
8a	8a	16	8b	8a	8a	2	8b	9	8a	2	8b
9	9	2	9	9	9	4	9	4	9	4	9
4	4	4	*	4	4	22	(*)	6	4	5	(*)
16	16	5	6	22	22	6	6	8a	15b	6	6
6	6	6	7	6	6	7	7	15b	6	7	7
22	22	7	5	16	16	8a	4	11	11	8a	5
5	17	8a	15	15a	15a	8b	22	5	22	8b	4
17	5	8b	16			9	15b	22	17	9	15a
		9	4			10	16	17	5	10	15b
		10	21			14	21a	21	21	11	22
		14	*			15a	14			14	16
		17	14			16	15a			15b	17
		18	17			21a	11			16	*
		21	10			[22]	10			17	10
		22	(18)			26				22	11
		26	(13)			13				26	(23)
		13	11							23	(2)
		11	(2)								*
											(*)
											*
											(23)

One of the immediate conclusions to be drawn after an analysis of such charts is that these manuscripts show clearly a great fluidity in the succession of hirmoi. Due to this lack of rigidity, frequent inversions in the order may appear, which create a deceptive variety, while, in fact, all hirmoi are preserved in the vicinity of one another.

It may be noticed that the two Slavic hirmologia show a remarkable degree of identity, as, for instance, in Ode 6, or in Ode 5, except for the last hirmoi, which appear in inverted order. The order of hirmoi in Ode 7 is of a slightly more intricate nature, yet

even there one can determine that all hirmoi are accounted for, though the order is shuffled a bit. The two Greek manuscripts show much more variety between themselves than the Slavic manuscripts. Finally, between the Slavic and Greek manuscripts there is no such close relationship which would indicate that an identical model may have served for all of them. The indications are that the translators had some special order in mind, and acted with discrimination, sometimes taking a hirmos from one tradition, sometimes from another.

The complex picture which this research has established raises many more questions, only a few of which may be answered with some degree of certainty. One of the questions which is raised most often concerns *where* these manuscripts were copied. In spite of the avidity with which Russian linguists are willing to ascribe the origin of a manuscript to this or that region, because of dialectical features, it would seem that Russian monasteries outside of Russia may have had scriptoria in which manuscripts were copied. One may often encounter "mistakes" in dialect in a medieval manuscript. Many of the differences in dialects may be explained by the common residence of monks from different parts of Russia in one place, whether on Mount Athos, or in Jerusalem. More evidence will be needed to determine where Slavic musical manuscripts actually were copied.

The question of *why* the Slavs adopted the OdO arrangement is an extremely difficult one. There is even no way of knowing today why this particular arrangement came into being. One can only surmise what may have happened. In the course of time certain hirmoi within the kanons may have become more popular, while others were neglected. It is not impossible that this selective process resulted in two different streams. One of them may have led to the development of composite kanons in KaO manuscripts. The other may have led to a grouping of selected hirmoi according to the odes. This hypothesis gains support from the practical point of view. If a singer were using a manuscript containing hirmoi in the order of kanons in the period when composite kanons were developing, he would have to search from one ode to another, in order to find the appropriate kanons. The manuscripts arranged according to odes had the advantage that the singer needed only to go forward through the manuscript without returning to previous pages. An

additional advantage was that all hirmoi of one particular ode were grouped together, and the singer could find them close at hand.

Finally, concerning the question as to *what the criteria were* which determined the choice of hirmoi to be included in the Slavic hirmologia, interesting results may be obtained by a closer analysis of the content of Slavic manuscripts, or in this case of the hirmoi in the Chilandar Hirmologion. The next chart shows the hirmoi of Mode I in Ch with indications of kanons in which these hirmoi are located. The one hirmos for Ode 8 indicated by an asterisk is the only one in Mode I for which no Greek model was located.

Order of Hirmoi of Mode I in the Chilandar Hirmologion:

Odes	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
		1	1	1	1	1	1
		15	15	15	15	15	17
		8	8	8	8	8	8
	15	9	9	9	9	9	9
	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
	16	16	16	22	15	23	15
	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
	22	15	22	16	11	*	18
	5	22	17	15	22	22	18
	21	12	5		17	15	22
	16				5	16	23
					21	5	5
						18	
						20	

The content of Mode I discloses that a system was followed in the selection of hirmoi. One may note the regularity in which hirmoi of odes 4 to 8 appear. Regularly this order is: Kanons 1, 15, 8, 9, 4. Hirmoi from Kanon 6 appear regularly as the seventh in order. A similar orderly pattern recurs in Mode II and in Mode III. This is certainly *not* a coincidence, but the application of some strictly observed rules. It is worth noticing that hirmoi were taken only from a certain number of kanons, and that some kanons were completely ignored. Although it is impossible to draw conclusions before more comparative work is done, it becomes obvious that some criteria were used in the choice of hirmoi and in their arrangement in Slavic manuscripts.

Within the same question concerning criteria, one should note that Slavic hirmologia contain texts which are preserved in manuscripts of various traditions. The most conspicuous examples would be the hirmos for Ode 7 from Kanon 21 of Mode I, which was traced in L, O, Ga, H, and G, or the hirmos for Ode 8 of Kanon 23 of Mode I, traced in S, O, Ga, H, and G, in both instances only in manuscripts of the KaO type.

As examples of a different tradition, one may observe the last hirmos of Ode 2 in Mode II, in Ch, which is traced in W, Ku, Sa, Sb, and Y, and the second hirmos of Ode 9 in Mode II, found in L, S, Ku-3, Ku, Sa, Sb, and Y. In the first of these two instances, it is curious that this hirmos appears in manuscripts which are considered to be chronologically later than the Slavic manuscripts, and furthermore that the Greek manuscripts which contain it, in the majority of instances, preserve a melodic tradition which is different from the one preserved in Ga, O, H, and G. In the second case, apart from L and S, which are the oldest manuscripts, the other manuscripts again belong to the same group. Another conspicuous feature is that the OdO manuscripts are *all* represented in the last two instances as well as W, Ku and Y, which are of the KaO type.

The examples quoted here showing a kind of merger of two different groups of manuscripts in the structure and content of Slavic hirmologia, are of great importance. This point is stressed since a similar merging of traditions appears in the musical analysis of hirmoi as well.

On the basis of the foregoing examples of the analysis of hirmologia the following conclusions may be drawn:

1) There were two different types of hirmologia in the Middle Ages. One group of manuscripts had all kanons complete within a mode, while another group of manuscripts had a subdivision according to the odes within a mode, and all hirmoi for a particular ode were grouped together.

2) There is a probability that the manuscripts of the kanon order type (KaO) originated under the influence of the practices and traditions of Mount Athos, while the manuscripts of the ode order type (OdO) may have originated in Palestine.

3) According to their structure, Slavic hirmologia belong to the

OdO type, yet they contain certain hirmoi which may be found only in KaO manuscripts.

Once the textual relationships were established and the tables of neumatic notation compiled, one could proceed with the analysis of the musical aspects of the Slavic hirmologia. A study of the neumatic notation alone did not seem to offer promising results as a subsequent discussion of details will demonstrate. The striking similarities in a number of examples between the poetic forms of Greek and Slavic texts, although of great importance, have not contributed to the problem of transcription into modern notation.

A more detailed analysis of the neumatic notation and of the relationships between the neumes in the Slavic and Greek manuscripts led to the discovery that a number of melodic formulae appear in almost identical form at some crucial points in the hirmoi—in the cadences. For the sake of utmost clarity in the final presentation of results obtained in this research, it is necessary to include in the following discussion a presentation of the concept of *melodic formulae*, and an analysis of musical forms, which emerge as one of the most significant side results of this investigation. In the final stage, with the help of all elements together, the neumatic notation, the formal structure, and the occurrence of melodic formulae, an attempt is made to crack the mystery of the neumatic notation in Slavic hirmologia.

CHAPTER IV

TEXTUAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GREEK AND SLAVIC HIRMOLOGIA

One of the important features in the analysis of Slavic hirmologia is the textual differences between them and their Greek models (1). Since all existing Slavic manuscripts seem to be dated before the middle of the thirteenth century, particular attention should be given to texts in Greek manuscripts prior to that date. In this analysis minor differences among the Slavic manuscripts are disregarded, such as the use of verbs of different grammatical aspects (2). Inversions in the combination of an adjective and a noun or in the sequence of epithets are also disregarded, except for cases where this inversion may be of particular interest. The main concern will be centered around more conspicuous changes in the meaning. It should be noted that when such changes occur in the Slavic texts, they seem to be adaptations and approximations in order to keep the meter as close to the Greek original as possible, although the number of exceptions encountered is larger than might be expected for this reason alone.

In the Chilandar Manuscript some of the most flagrant differences in wording from the Greek texts are:

Mode I

Ode 4, Hirmos from Kanon 16. At the end the Slavic text contains the translation of the word φιλάνθρωπε = чловѣколюбьче

(1) The texts of manuscripts Sa and Y and Rp are omitted in this discussion since they became available to this writer too late to be included here.

(2) As, for instance, подавающа in No, and подающа in Ch in the hirmos for ode 5 of kanon 8 in Mode I.

which appears only in L of all the Greek manuscripts. S and all others have την δυναμιν.

Ode 5, Hirmos from Kanon 6. S has incipit only.

Hirmos from Kanon 17. The Slavic text in the second and third verses follows closely the text in S. Line two in this text has four different readings in Greek manuscripts, while for line three only L has a different text. Note that L differs from S in both instances.

Ode 6, Second Hirmos from Kanon 15 (15b). Ga has incipit only.

Hirmos from Kanon 9. Ga has two lines only. A lacuna follows and the rest of the text is added at the bottom of the page without music.

Hirmos from Kanon 16. The last word in line two, φιλάνθρωπε, is not translated properly in Slavic texts. Instead of чловѣколюбьче it appears as милостивє in Ch and as милосєрдє in No. Note that both translations keep the same number of syllables as the Greek word.

First Hirmos from Kanon 15 (15a). The Slavic text is a literal translation of the text in S and Ku only.

Slavic: работы адовы; S and Ku: δουλειας του αδου; L, Ga, O, H, W, G, Sb have: θανατου.

Ode 7, Second Hirmos from Kanon 15 (15b). In line two the Slavic text is identical with S. Slavic has моужьскы въспѣвахоу S has ανδρειως υπεψαλλον; H has υμνουντος σε ψαλλον, while W, G, Ku and Sb have χορευοντες εψαλλον.

Ode 8, Hirmos from Kanon 4. The ending εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας is missing in Slavic translations. The verb form in Slavic (imperative) corresponds to the Greek text in L and Sb only.

Hirmos from Kanon 23. The Slavic translation is incomplete and very poor.

Hirmos from Kanon 6. The end is missing in the Slavic translation.

Ode 9, First Hirmos from Kanon 18 (18a). There are three places in the text where differences appear.

The Slavic texts follow L, S, O, Ga, and H.

The differences are:

(a) Slavic благодати; Greek τῆς χάριτος; Ku and G have: την παγχρυσον.

(b) Slavic доушевьноую; Greek ἔμψυχον; W and Sb have: αγιον.

(c) Slavic славьныи; Greek ἄχραντον; Sb has παγρισου; W has εμψυχον.

Hirmos from Kanon 22. Lg has μαρια instead of παρθένε, which appears in all other manuscripts. The Slavic texts follow the majority.

Mode II

Ode 1, Hirmos from Kanon 2. At the ending the Slavic translation is identical to the reading in Ku: Slavic славьно бо прослави сѧ; Ku ενδοξως γαρ δεδοξασται; all other manuscripts have only οτι instead of ενδοξως γαρ.

Ode 3, Hirmos from Kanon 12. The word доушамъ in Slavic texts is a literal translation of ψυχῶν which appears in L, O, H, and Sb. Manuscripts S, Ku, and G have καλων instead.

Ode 4, Hirmos from Kanon 2. славьноѥ in Slavic texts is a literal translation of ἔνδοξον in L, S, Sb, Ku, and G. O and H have ευσπλαγχνον instead.

Hirmos from Kanon 10. The Slavic пришествиꙗ is identical with παρουσιας in S and Sb, while O, H, and Ku have δυναστειας.

Ode 6, Hirmos from Kanon 12. Only Sb has βυθον (depth) for the Slavic глоубины, while all other manuscripts have θηρός.

Hirmos from Kanon 10. L and S have as the ending of the last line: ως φιλανθρωπος θεος. The manuscripts O, H, G, Ku, and Sb have παντοδυναμε σωτηρ. The Slavic translation in Ch follows neither of these. Its form ꙗко милосьрдъ is closer in meaning to L and S.

Ode 7, Hirmos from Kanon 4. The last line in the Slavic translation прѣпетыи отьцемъ господь и богъ благословенъ ѥси is the literal word order of L, S, Ku and Sb, υπερυμνετε· ο των πατερων κυριος καὶ θεος, ευλογητος ει. O, H, and G have an inverted order in that line which reads υπερυμνετε· ευλογητος ει κυριε ο θεος ο των πατερων ημων.

Hirmos from Kanon 10. The Slavic text of this hirmos shows in

two instances a literal translation of the Greek text in L which differs from readings in other manuscripts:

a. L has τυρανον where S, O, H, and G have κυριον. The Slavic translation is моучителꙗ.

b. L has λεγοντες where S, O, H, and G have βοωντες. The Slavic text reads глаголюще.

Ode 8, Hirmos from Kanon 4. The Slavic translation of the ending of the last line corresponds literally to the text in Sb only.

Mode III

Ode 1, Hirmos from Kanon 6. The Slavic text ꙗко крьста seems to be closer to L, O, H, and G which have οτι σταυρου, while S, Ku-3, Ku, and Sb have και γαρ σταυρου (3).

Hirmos from Kanon 17. The last line in the Slavic translation agrees with S only.

Hirmos from Kanon 14. O and H have χριστε where all other manuscripts have θεος. The Slavic translation боже follows the majority. At the end of the same hirmos, O, H, and G have again a different text ως βασιλει καὶ θεω. L and S have ως λυτρωτι και θεω. The Slavic translation, which reads ꙗко избавителѧ бога, нашего follows the text which appears in Ku-3, Ku, and Sb ως λυτρωτη ημων θεος.

Ode 2, Hirmos from Kanon 18. L differs from other manuscripts, having λαοις instead of εν γη. The Slavic text agrees with the majority.

Ode 4, Hirmos from Kanon 6. There are two Slavic translations of the Greek text κατανοησας τα θαυμασια σου; Ch has расмотрь чюдеса твоѧ, while No has расмотрихъ дѣла твоѧ; Ch contains the correct translation.

Hirmos from Kanon 2. Again Slavic manuscripts show милостиве

(3) This particular example of a minor difference in text shows very clearly the division of manuscripts into two different traditions. Note that manuscripts which are considered to have originated on Mount Athos, or under its influence (L, O, H, and G), are together in one group, while the manuscripts belonging to the Palestinian tradition (S, Ku-3, Ku, and Sb) also appear grouped together.

(in Ch) and милосьрде (in No) as an equivalent for φιλάνθρωπε in the Greek text which remains untranslated (4).

Hirmos from Kanon 16. The Greek ending of the hirmos καὶ ἐδόξασά σε has two Slavic translations. Ch offers a literal translation и прославихъ тѧ, while No has и дивихъ сѧ господи.

This analysis of some of the most conspicuous textual differences is but one of several approaches necessary in an attempt to determine the origin of Slavic manuscripts. It would be useless to make statistical charts of all the discrepancies in texts, and compute the number of times in which one manuscript contains the text which happens to be translated correctly. Both Ch and No are fragments only, and the statistics would be incomplete, since the proportions of the so-called agreements and textual divergences vary even within one manuscript from one Mode to another.

In discussing the textual differences noticed in Greek and Slavic manuscripts, the starting point is the assumption that the Slavic translation renders correctly the form of the Greek original which served as its model. The important point to bear in mind is that the approach is in fact reversed—starting from a translation and comparing it with the original language which has several variants of the text.

A certain number of discrepancies in the text probably is due to the scribe and the process of copying. Yet we do not know what criterion to use in order to determine which textual differences should be disregarded and ascribed to the tedious job of manuscript copying. One plausible suggestion would be that textual differences which should be attributed to scribes occur in the form of inversion of words. Undoubtedly some of these differences are errors of the scribe, but there are instances where the inversion of words in the text is no longer a mistake, but a distinct feature of a group of manuscripts which differs from another group of manuscripts as an entity. In such cases inversion is conscious and not an error. Certain omissions may be attributed to the scribes, such as when a sentence remains unfinished or the last word (or last few words) in a hirmos is abbreviated or even completely omitted, since the scribe assumed that those who were to use the manu-

(4) See above a similar instance in the Hirmos for Ode 6 of Kanon 16 in Mode I (p. 54).

script were familiar with the Chant and text. Or was it absent-mindedness?

It would seem to be much more appropriate to discuss the textual differences in terms of proportions than with quotations of percentages of "mistakes". Manuscript Sb, for example, contains texts which in a number of instances definitely represent the wording which served as model for the translation into Slavic. On the other hand, in this same manuscript there are a few hirmoi (which appear in Slavic translations as well) in which a certain number of deviations from the bulk of Greek manuscripts may be found. These variants in wording and with a different sequel of lines do not always correspond to the Slavic texts. The number of different readings approximately equals the number of passages in which the Slavic translations coincide with the special textual variant of the manuscript Sb. For this reason it appears most convenient to speak of relative degrees of closeness to the text which served as model for the Slavs. In such terms, manuscript Sb is as close at some times as it is removed at others from the model text.

The attempts to determine which one of the known Greek manuscripts of the hirmologion most closely resembles the manuscript which the Slavs used as the basis for their translation face a stumbling block. The evidence available concerning the structure of manuscripts and arrangements of hirmoi seems to point to a manuscript which may have originated in the Palestinian-Sinaitic tradition with admixtures of what is considered to be the tradition of Mount Athos or Constantinople. An almost identical impression is obtained from the analysis of textual differences in Slavic and Greek manuscripts. This point becomes particularly evident in considering L and S, the oldest and most complete manuscripts.

In terms of proportions, the text in L contains about the same number of different readings as it has forms which appear literally translated in Slavic manuscripts. The manuscript S has twice as many forms accepted by the Slavs as the number of differences in text which it contains. Yet in a few instances L *is the only one* of all Greek manuscripts to have the text which is literally translated in the Slavic manuscripts (5).

(5) This is a rather significant detail which must be taken into consideration, since according to Høeg (*The Hymns* ..., p. xlvi) Manuscript L when compared with H "must be given low marks" for the text. Note also that there are two hirmoi in Slavic manuscripts which have been located in L and Lg only! Manuscript L, therefore, *is* of importance when studying Slavic translations.

Of younger manuscripts, the group Ga, O, and H contains texts which appear a majority of times correctly translated into Slavic. When differences occur, this group wavers between L and S. The manuscript G, which according to its structure belongs to this group, differs in its text more often, yet these differences are in most cases changes which may be of a later date. Manuscript Ku contains also a number of slight changes and additional words here and there which classify it in the same chronological group as G.

Of greater importance are the instances when the Slavic translation reflects a word or verbal construction which cannot be found either in L or S. It is curious to note that in some of these instances the text of the Slavic model manuscript appears to have been preserved in Ku-3 and Sb, both later manuscripts, and significantly enough, both with OdO—the same order as the Slavic manuscripts.

From these facts a tentative conclusion may be drawn concerning the form and wording in the manuscript used by the Slavs for their translation. This Greek manuscript, which is now lost, may have originated in Palestine or may have been compiled under the influence of Palestinian tradition. In the process of compilation several text variants may have been used. The scribe did not restrict himself to copying the text from only one manuscript, nor did he follow only one Greek tradition.

There is, of course, another possibility: the Slavic translator may have had copies of manuscripts belonging to two different Greek traditions, and chose now from one and now from another manuscript. This hypothesis may be plausible insofar as it does not seek to establish *one* manuscript as *the* model for Slavic translations. This hypothesis accepts the differences in wordings and only traces the source of the text in available Greek manuscripts.

Turning to the Slavic manuscripts, one notes that even in the limited number of these sources certain discrepancies exist, which would seem to endorse the assumption that there may have been several persons engaged in the business of translation. If one adds to this the points mentioned in connection with the errors of the

scribes, the possible explanations for different readings are assembled. It is curious to note in the Slavic translations of the text that in some instances certain hirmoi are translated with a great concern for form and with an amazing aptness, retaining in their Slavic version the metrical schemes of their Greek models. It is amazing and to the credit of the translators that the number of such occurrences is a great as it is, considering the fact that in most cases the form still includes a literal translation of the text (6). There are also numerous examples of a different kind, where no concern for form appears and where the desire to follow the translation, word for word, abolishes completely the poetic form of the Greek model. In such cases, although the Slavic text is an exact translation, the poetic properties of the original are entirely lost.

The sum of the results obtained in this investigation seems clearly to point out that there are at least two sides to the problem of texts as they appear in Slavic manuscripts. One side of the problem is the relationship of Slavic texts to their Greek models as far as their literal wording and meaning is concerned. The other side is the consideration of poetic forms in Slavic translations.

The question concerning which manuscript (or manuscripts) may have been the model used by the Slavs remains unsolved, yet a certain progress is achieved by locating the model in a tradition which resembles in its structure the Palestinian type of manuscript, although in the choice of texts, and sometimes in the wording, versions close to the tradition of Mount Athos were given preference and incorporated into the Slavic text. Attention is called to the fact that in cases in which the Slavic translation differs from the traditional texts in L and S, the manuscripts Ku-3 and Sb offer occasionally the version of the text which had been used. This fact strengthens the hypothesis of Palestinian origin, but does not dispose completely of the influence of Mount Athos.

(6) See above, p. 2, n. 1.

CHAPTER V

MELODIC FORMULAE

The study of melodic formulae is still in its initial stages (1). Although there have been some pioneering works, the knowledge and understanding of this subject have remained superficial. The structure of formulae and particularly their transformations require further study. In research concerned with the relationships of two chants, or in this specific case, of Byzantine and Slavic Chants, knowledge of formulae may be of crucial importance and serve as a breakthrough point for many unsolved enigmas.

It is necessary for the sake of clarity to determine what a melodic formula is and what its characteristics are, since the present writer is unaware of any recorded definition of it (2). The word *formula*

(1) Among the most important studies on this subject one should mention Dom André Mocquereau's very minute study, "La chant 'authentique' du Credo I selon l'édition Vaticane", *Paléographie Musicale*, X (1909), pp. 90–176. See also A. Z. Idelsohn, "Die Maqamen der arabischen Musik", *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, XV (1913–14), pp. 1–63; Wellesz, "Die Struktur des serbischen Oktoechos", *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, II (1919–20), pp. 140–48; Wellesz, *A History* ..., pp. 269–87.

(2) There is a distinct difference in the meaning of the term "formula" as used by this writer and by W. H. Frere in his introduction to *Antiphonale Sarisburiense*, I (London, 1901), pp. 5–76. Where Frere uses "formula" this writer uses "musical form" (see p. 19 of Frere's text for the most obvious instance). For this writer's use of the term "formula" Frere uses the term "phrase". It should be stressed, however, that Frere was aware of the formulaic structure (in this writer's sense of the word) of the Gregorian Chant.

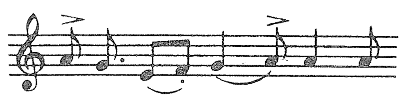
An interesting account of formulae in the Gregorian Chant may be found in Dom Paolo Ferretti, *Esthétique grégorienne*, trans. from Italian by A. Agaësse (Paris, 1938), pp. 62–85. The apparent similarity of the principle of "centonization" in the Gregorian Chant (see Ferretti, pp. 109–24) with the structure of Byzantine hymns requires further investigation. The principle of formulaic structure was not restricted to Byzantine melodies, as Wellesz has shown in his *Eastern Elements* ..., pp. 113–49.

implies a set form which is fixed and immutable. With the specification *melodic* formula, the meaning which is likely to be understood is a melody which is unchangeable; but a melodic formula, as far as one can define it, is rather a framework, within which there are elements of fixation, yet still subject to transformation. A formula may be recognized by its frequent recurrence in the vital parts of a hymn. A hymn may consist of a chain of melodic formulae linked by a few transitional passages.

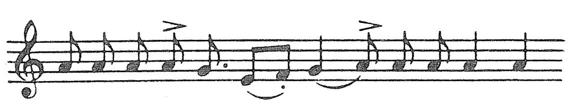
Another problem related to a definition is the delineation of the relationship between a melodic phrase and a melodic formula. A phrase in music is defined as a short musical thought closing with a cadence. Thus, a melodic formula alone may be a melodic phrase, while a phrase is not necessarily always a melodic formula. More often it is part of a phrase, which in turn may contain one or more melodic formulae.

It has been ascertained that there are formulae which appear in cadences at the ending either of a verse or of the complete text, and are therefore called *cadential formulae*. Some formulae, on the other hand, are believed to appear only at the beginning of a verse or of a melodic statement and are named *initial formulae*.

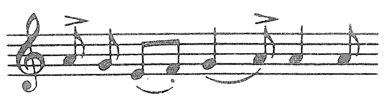
A few examples may help to clarify the description of formulae. One of the cadences frequently encountered in Mode I is:



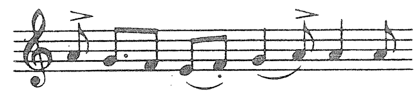
This melodic formula is by no means an ossified melody which always appears in exactly the same form. It is a mere melodic outline, within which slight variants and changes may occur, which may diversify its appearance, yet still not destroy the basic quality of the cadence. A simple alteration consists of a repetition of some of its tones, most often the initial or ending ones:



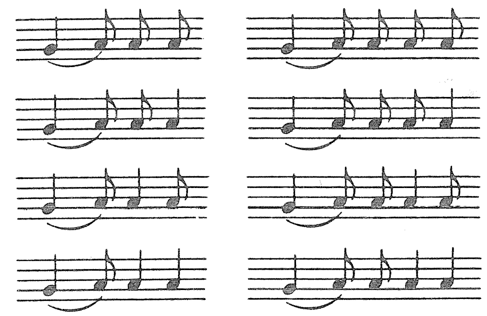
Yet in a more detailed analysis it becomes evident that this series of notes is not always preserved and rendered in exactly the same way. It may appear without the dotted quaver:



or with the elimination of the leap of the third downward, which includes the insertion of a note within the formula:



The last note may be repeated several times with different rhythmical values:



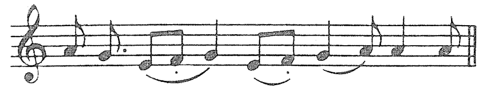
Another possibility of the enlargement of the formula is to insert one or two notes on a different pitch between the first notes in a formula:



The same idea of enlargement may be applied at some other place, as in the following examples:

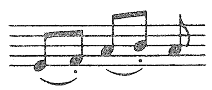
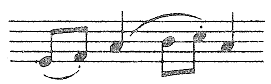


or a part of the formula may be repeated:

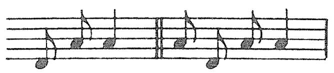


These examples alone demonstrate clearly the element of flexibility within one single formula. None of them has changed the essential melodic outline, and each can be labelled as an addition to the framework. It is evident that the number of these additions is not restricted, and that there are numerous possibilities for combinations. There is no special rule which determines when this formula must appear either at the end or at the beginning of a hymn, and it may be encountered at either end in numerous examples.

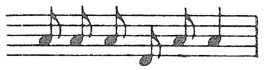
Besides the appearance of this particular formula at the very beginning of a hirmos, there are examples in which it is preceded by a melodic statement of variable length:

the latter being a combination of the two preceding ones. These brief statements have some quality of an *initium.* Even more interesting are examples containing the two basic cadential tones of the first Mode:



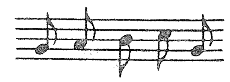
or in a variant with repetitions:



These few are separate melodic formulae which have been located only at the beginnings of hirmoi, and in such instances it is possible to distinguish them as initial formulae proper.

All of these formulae may appear in some slightly enlarged form, and with some small deviations in rhythm or expression, yet their initial character seems to be established. By stating that they appear as initial formulae, their appearance is not limited to the very beginning of a hymn only, since they may be found at the beginning of verses within a stanza as well.

A clear distinction between the initial and cadential formulae seems to be essential for the statement of a mode. The quoted instances have demonstrated the characteristics of an initial formula: it is a sort of a spearhead, brief, and with the appearance of a nucleus containing a condensed statement of the mode.

A very particular formula seems to be , which has not been located either as an initial or cadential formula, but has been encountered very often just after the former, or just preceding the latter. It seems to be most often used as a link between passages or formulae which have a more distinct character. The frequent appearance of this small melodic unit seems to justify the assumption that it is a melodic formula all by itself, but without the independence which would allow it to stand alone.

A few examples should suffice to demonstrate the principle of formulaic structure in the Byzantine Chant. The hirmos for ode 7 in kanon 11 of Mode I has the following melody for the first verse in manuscript H (3):

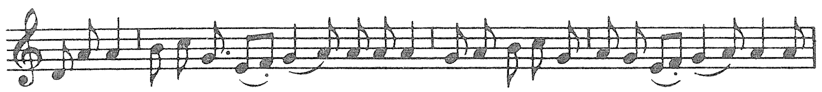


The cadential formula discussed earlier appears here very conspicuously in the opening, followed by the link, and the verse ends with the same melodic formula with which it started. The appearance of a cadential formula at the beginning of a hirmos seemingly contradicts the earlier discussion of its qualities. The important fact is that even when a cadential formula is found in the begin-

(3) See Appendix I, p. L XXII b – L XXIII a; also Høeg, *The Hymns* . . ., p. 76.

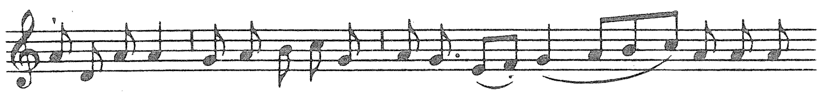
ning, it still remains a cadence. Its position at the opening of a melody in such an instance serves as a statement of the mode, and is no obstacle to its reappearance at the end of the melodic flow as the example shows.

The hirmos for ode 5 in kanon 8 of Mode I has the following beginning in manuscript H (4):



This example is similar to the preceding one with an added initial formula.

The hirmos for ode 5 in kanon 1 of Mode I has in manuscript H the following melody (5):



The initial formula is followed by the link to the cadential formula which is enlarged. Exactly the same melody is repeated for the second line of the text, with an added melisma at the end of the initial formula. The ending of the cadential formula in the second line is slightly adapted to form a kind of upbeat to the melody of the third line (6). This hirmos is a good example of the variations of an initial formula, none of which change the impression or destroy the feeling of the mode in which the hirmos is to be sung:



If a formula is not an ossification of a melody, it follows that it may undergo many variations and still remain the same in essence. One must remember that in an essentially oral tradition and oral transmission from generation to generation, in an environment in which the literacy was never too great, the musical notation served two purposes. First, it determined the melody as remembered and

(4) See Appendix I, pp. XXXI b – XXXII a; also Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. 64.
(5) See Appendix I, pp. XXVIII a – XXIX a; also Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., pp. 16–17.
(6) See Appendix I, p. XXIX a – b; also Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., pp. 17–18.

transmitted to a singer and/or scribe; secondly, it served as a mnemotechnic device to the half-literate singers who followed the basic outline of the melody, without paying too much attention to the actual interval distances and pitch. There is very strong evidence that even one singer would seldom perform the same melodic formula in exactly the same manner and with the same rhythmic structure. This particular feature seems inherent in the oriental tradition, and is far from having been thoroughly investigated (7).

As a consequence of this particular aspect, even the musical notation of a melodic formula may undergo changes, and it is not strange or unusual to find a melodic formula in several variations within a single manuscript, or even within a single hymn. All that seems possible to deduce from such a fact is that originally—whenever that prehistoric unwritten form of the chant was practiced—there may have been a few simple formulae only. This assumption, if carried to an extreme, would reduce the repertoire of formulae to a minimum with which the whole chant might have started. Such an assumption has to remain hypothetical since there is no way of proving it, but if one were to proceed on the basis of this assumption, it might be helpful in the establishment of origins of some melodic formulae.

(7) It is very revealing to read about present day practices in the Near Middle East in the report of P. Paul-Armand Laily, "Difficulté de la notation Byzantine et projet de la remplacer par une notation occidentale adaptée", *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra (Roma, 25–30 Maggio, 1950)* (Tournai, 1952), pp. 108–10. He described the present day situation in the following manner: "On chante par cœur et de mémoire, sans savoir lire l'écriture musicale, sans connaître la valeur ni des signes des notes, ni des signes de modulations et de rhythme". Being a teacher of Byzantine Chant himself, he describes the difficulties facing him and adds, "Même dans les chœurs de chant des villes, comme le Caire, Beyrouth, Jérusalem, le protopsalte et quelque chantres seulement connaissent le déchiffrage du chant moderne, *tous les autres membres du chœur apprennent leurs morceaux par cœur*". (Underlined by the present writer).

CHAPTER VI

MUSICAL FORMS IN THE BYZANTINE CHANT

The investigation of musical forms in the Byzantine Chant has rarely been considered (1). In studying the available musical documents and the published transcriptions of a number of hymns, one encounters several conspicuous examples of musical forms. It should be stressed that there is a difference between the concepts of a melodic formula and a musical form. The formula may be of help in detecting the musical form and may constitute occasionally a part of it, yet the formula is *not* the determining factor in this particular aspect of musical analysis. The most pertinent factor in this case is and must be the melodic structure of a hymn as a whole. Since this study deals exclusively with the hirmologia, the following discussion will take into consideration only examples found in those hirmoi which have been incorporated in the body of the Slavic hirmologia in the early centuries of Christianity in Russia.

In the study of musical forms in the Byzantine Chant there are several obstacles, the main one being the fact that the Chant is preserved in many different manuscripts. Within the extant hirmologia one can clearly distinguish two different melodic traditions, which seem to be related to the two different types of structure of manuscripts. It is impossible, however, to state that manuscripts with KaO contain one melodic tradition, while manuscripts with OdO contain a different melodic tradition, since the manuscripts do not conform completely to this division.

Wellesz expressed the opinion at one point that since the melodies in Sa did not agree with melodies in other manuscripts known to him, it still remained to be proven whether there was a special

(1) Wellesz, *A History* ..., pp. 269–87.

melody prevalent in Palestine, which would differ from the melodies as written down supposedly at Mount Athos and its related scriptoria (2). On the basis of the comparative charts of neumatic notation, and a comparison of a larger group of manuscripts, the present writer believes that enough evidence has been obtained to substantiate a statement that there *was* a different type of singing, and that there *were* melodic outlines used in Palestinian churches and monasteries different from the melodies sung closer to Mount Athos, which is the Byzantine and Constantinopolitan group of churches and monasteries. The fact that the division of manuscripts according to the order of hirmoi on one hand, and according to the melodic tradition on the other hand, does not agree may find a plausible explanation in the following suggestion.

When the text of a manuscript was written down, most probably by a monk who specialized in the copying of texts, it may be assumed that the neumatic notation was not necessarily written down immediately, and at the very same place where the text of the manuscript was copied. If this theory is followed, it may explain why the manuscript Ku, which in its order of kanons and selection of hirmoi conforms to a very considerable degree with manuscripts of the *KaO* group with the smallest number of hirmoi, in its neumatic notation shows at times differences which bring it closer to the *OdO* group of manuscripts.

A possible explanation for this peculiarity of Ku is that the text may have been written somewhere in Byzantium, while its musical notation may have been written by a monk, not unlikely a traveler, who combined some of the melodies as sung at Mount Athos with some of the melodies as recorded in the Palestinian-Sinaitic manuscripts. From the point of view of musical notation, such an assumption may be strengthened by the manuscript W, which also shows this trait of containing melodies of both groups.

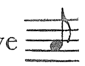
In considering the musical forms, a difficulty arises when one hirmos appears in a manuscript with a clearly delineated musical form, while no other manuscript contains such a version. This fact and the existence of two melodic traditions make understandable why it is that a relatively small number of hirmoi with a clear musical form has been preserved. It is beyond the scope of

(2) Wellesz, "Words and Music in Byzantine Liturgy", *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXIII (1947), pp. 297–310, particularly p. 306.

the present research to consider the poetic features of the texts. However, it is extremely important to stress that the melodic structure may depend very much on the poetic form. It is certainly not a pure coincidence that ten of the fifteen hirmoi with a clear musical form are attributed to Andreas of Crete, one of the great poets and authors of hirmoi.

Among the Greek hirmoi of Mode I the musical form which is encountered most often is *AAB*, with its variant A^1A^2B. This means that the melodic structure of a hirmos having this form consists of only two melodies. The first melody, *A*, may appear unchanged or with slight variations either in its first or second half. The second melody, *B*, is completely different, although it may in some cases contain elements similar to the first melody. This similarity, if and when it occurs, is more of a general nature, such as the range of melody and its pace. Most often it has no similarity to the preceding part.

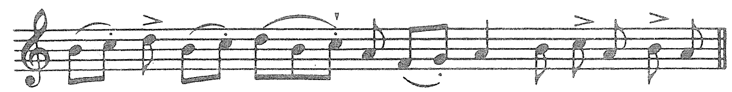
The second hirmos of ode 3 in kanon 16 of Mode I is one such example (3). Its Greek text consists of three lines, each having twelve syllables. The first two lines have the same melody preserved in three manuscripts, H, G, and S^2. The only slight difference in the first line appears in S^2 for the word εἷς:

 where H and G have 

Manuscripts O and Ga, which are unreadable, contain the basic elements of the same melody, and it may be inferred that the notation in these two manuscripts implies the same tune. A more difficult situation arises in the case of manuscript S^1. In its original notation, there are too few neumes to suggest any melody. It is on the basis of the added signs in a later period, notation designated as S^2, that one finds the melody identical to that in H and G. The melody of this hirmos in H is:



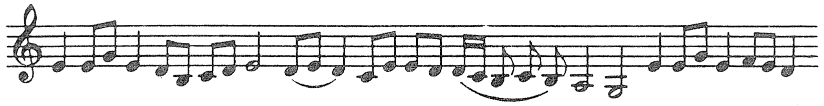
(3) See Appendix I, pp. XI; also Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. 93.



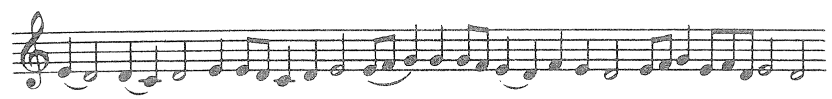
The disposition of stresses in the first two lines is identical. The division of lines is standard in all three lines, 7+5 syllables. In the first two lines, the first half of the verse has another subdivision, 4+3. In the third line, on the fourth syllable there is a melodic movement with a stress as a counterpart to the long syllable in the first two lines. The melody of the second halves of all verses (in all instances five syllables) has two different forms. In the first two lines it rises gently up and falls down, reaching the highest position on the third syllable. In the third line there are two stresses in that group, on the second and fourth syllables and the melodic movement is, of course, different. The form *AAB* is extremely clear.

What is the situation with the Slavic translation and its melody? The text is translated word for word. A count of syllables shows that the symmetry has been changed. The Slavic text has 12+13+12 syllables. Yet it becomes obvious on analyzing the appearance of the notation in the charts without transcribing it, that the form *AAB* has been transferred to the Slavic manuscripts.

The first two lines in Ch and No differ from the Greek in their melodic outline because of the shift of stresses. The main discrepancy, however, is restricted to a few syllables within the first half of the first line. Because of the text, the second line appears in the form 7+6 syllables. But in both lines the last three syllables have identical notation. The second and third lines in Slavic manuscripts follow very closely their Greek models. The fourth syllable in the third line—the one with melodic ornament and stress in Greek manuscripts—becomes one with length in Slavic manuscripts. The similarity verges on exact identity. It is interesting to note how this closeness has become lost in the course of centuries. Koschmieder in his transcription of the Breslau Manuscript of the seventeenth century gives the following melody (reduced in values here 1:2) (4):



(4) Koschmieder, I, p. 19.



The only element of similarity between the first two lines is their identical beginning. The rest is completely different.

In the printed edition of the Hirmologion of 1794, the text has 9+12+12 syllables and melodic resemblances are entirely lost (5):



Another interesting example of the same form is the second hirmos for Ode 6 of kanon 15 of Mode I (6). A transcription of melodies of that hirmos in six Greek manuscripts from the lower part of the charts in Appendix I follows (7). No attempt was made to transcribe the melody from L, S, O and Ga.

This transcription shows a more intricate picture. There are elements of two different variants which are clearly represented in H on one side and Ku, Sa, and Sb on the other. The three remaining

(5) *Irmologion*, ed. by the monks of the Laura of St. Basil the Great, 3d edition (Pochaev [In Volynia, west of Kiev], 1794), the twelfth hirmos among the hirmoi for Ode 3 in Mode 1. The full title which is enormously long runs: Irmologion soderzhashch v sebie razlichnaia pieniia tserkovnaia Oktoikha, Minii, i Triodionov, k sovershennomu tiekh razumieniiu, i soglasiiu iezhe v pienii slichnieishemu, opasno po egzempliarem Grecheskim ispravlennaia. Za derzhavy Ego Milosti velikago korolia Stanieslava Augusta, povelieniem i blagosloveniem ego preosviashtenstva kyr Stefana Levienskago, Bozhieiu i sviatago Throna Apostolskago Blagodatiiu, episkopa koadiutora s nasliedstvom, i administratora s vsiakoiu chinopravleniia vlastiiu, Luckago i Ostrogskago Ordina sviatago Stanieslava Kavalera. Tshtaniem zhe i izhdiveniem Monakhov China Sviatago Basilia Velikago, v sviatoi Chudotvornoi Laurie Pochaevskoi, priliezhniee po novopechatanym knigam Tserkovnim ispravlen i typom tretoe izdan. Lieta ot sotvoreniia mira po grecheskim khronografom ЗТЄ ot rozhdestva zhe Khristova аѱчд. A copy of this Hirmologion was examined by the present writer in the British Museum.

(6) See Appendix I, pp. XLVII b – XLVIII a; also Høeg, *The Hymns* . . ., p. 90.

(7) In the following examples transcriptions of melodies from Sa are added, although the notation of Sa does not appear in Appendix I.

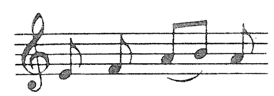


manuscripts show a blend of influences accepting the Ku variant for the beginning of the first line and the H variant for the beginning of the second line. In its ending Ku again betrays a different melodic tradition. Sb has also an independent line, while other manuscripts have elements of a similar outline which link them to a melodic tradition of a different origin. Yet in all these manuscripts an identical disposition of stresses in the Greek text has been preserved.

The Slavic text, which is a literal translation, has a somewhat different structure. While the Greek text has 14+14+15 syllables, the Slavic text has 13+13+17. Note that the total number of syllables is in both instances the same. The inner subdivision of the lines in the Greek and Slavic texts is shown in the following scheme:

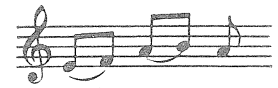
Greek	*Slavic*
7+7	6+7
7+7	7+6
4+5+6	5+5+7

An analysis of the notation does not show any close resemblance to the Greek model. There are similarities, but musical form is lost. There is one curious detail worth mentioning. In the beginning of the first line in the Greek melody there is a melodic movement on the third syllable, while the first two syllables have one note each.



τον προ - φη - την

The Slavic translation of that word is *proroka* and has three syllables. In the neumatic notation in the Slavic manuscripts there is a melodic movement indicated on the second syllable of that word in the same place as in the Greek original. The first two syllables from the Greek text are now condensed into one. And curiously enough, from the notation in Slavic manuscripts it is clear that a melodic movement *is* required on the first syllable, similar perhaps to



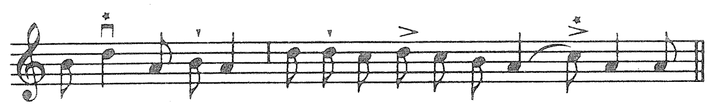
про - ро - ка

which would preserve the melodic outline of the opening of this hirmos.

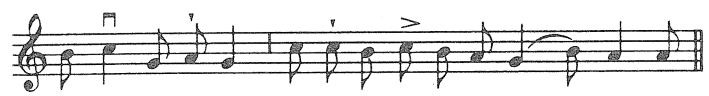
As an example of a musical form extremely close to the scheme *AABA*, an analysis of the hirmos of ode 5 of kanon 1 in Mode I follows (8). As was the case with the preceding example, in this case again, two different melodic traditions can immediately be discerned from the available transcriptions. In the first group are manuscripts O, H, G, and La, while in the second are manuscripts Vb, Sa, Sb, and Y, to which Ku may be added as well (9). As could be expected, not all manuscripts have preserved the musical form. Those which have retained the form are O, H, G, and La, all from the first group representing one melodic tradition and Sb of the second group. The other manuscripts have a form which could be best described as *AABC*, where *C* has a certain affinity to

(8) See Appendix I, pp. XXVIII a – XXIX b; also Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., pp. 16–19, where a complete transcription is given for all manuscripts except Ku.

(9) In the transcription of the notation in Sb, Høeg insists on two "mistakes" (see his commentary on p. 232 in *The Hymns* ...), and transcribes from the end of the third lines as follows:



Thus he shifts the whole melody from the second syllable of the word θεογνωσίας to the penultimate syllable of the verse one second higher. On this syllable he substitutes for the *apostrophos* in the manuscript an *elaphron* to end on a^1, in conformity with other manuscripts. However, this ending would have been obtained without that shift and the transcription of the pertinent passage would run as follows:



The cadence in this transcription is frequently encountered in Sb and in addition would be an excellent counterpart to the ending of the first line in the same hirmos in Sb.

A but represents a different entity. The form which is to be discussed, however, should be *AABa*. The first two lines have an identical melodic outline. The only real difference between them is that the first line has three quavers at its end, while the second verse omits this repetition of the same note and starts with an upbeat motion towards the next melodic phrase of the third line. In the musical performance of the first two lines, the absence of one syllable in the second line cannot be detected; furthermore, the ornamental addition on the fourth syllable offsets it and makes up the balance. The ornamental melodic movement at the fourth syllable of the first line does not change the melodic outline of the phrase as a whole.

The third line brings completely new melodic material and with slowed down rhythmic movement at the end of the line makes a well rounded unit. The first three parts of this form are thus well delineated as *AAB*. The last line of the text has only nine syllables. If one sets aside the melody above the first two syllables, the rest of it is identical to the second half of the first two lines. The melody above the first two syllables in that case may be considered as an upbeat, and the line as a whole designated as *a* in the form *AABa*. The impression left with the listener is a return to the melody of the first two lines.

In the Slavic translation of the twelfth century, the structure of the text is: 18+15+18+11 syllables, as compared with the Greek: 16+15+17+9 syllables. The notation, however, as preserved in Ch and No, shows that at that time the sense of form had been completely retained. A simple comparison reveals that the form *AABa* still exists in both Slavic manuscripts as shown on charts XXVIII a – XXIX b (10). The two additional syllables in the first line are couched in the middle of the line, the beginning and the end of which are close copies of the notation in early Greek manuscripts in the disposition of stresses and lengths.

An intermediate musical form between *AAB* and *AABC* can be found in the hirmos of ode 6, kanon 22, Mode I (11). The Greek text of this hirmos presents some difficulties, although it can be

(10) See Appendix I.

(11) See Appendix I, pp. LIV b – LV a; and Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. 114. A transcription is submitted in the next chapter, pp. 121–ff.

divided into the structure 8+8+16 syllables. In fact the simplest division would be two lines of sixteen syllables each. It is only from the melodic line that the former division arises. The last line could be subdivided, but its division into 9+7 syllables does not seem satisfactory for the text, though it may be acceptable from the viewpoint of its melodic structure.

This musical form is preserved in H, W, and Sb, while in G and Ku it is not so obvious. On the contrary it rather suggests the form *ABC* (or *ABCD*). The notation in older manuscripts, L, S, O, and Ga suggests the existence of the *AABC* form in these manuscripts. It is particularly stressed in Ga where the sign (*homoion*, meaning the same i.e. melody) is used to indicate the repetition of the melodic phrase.

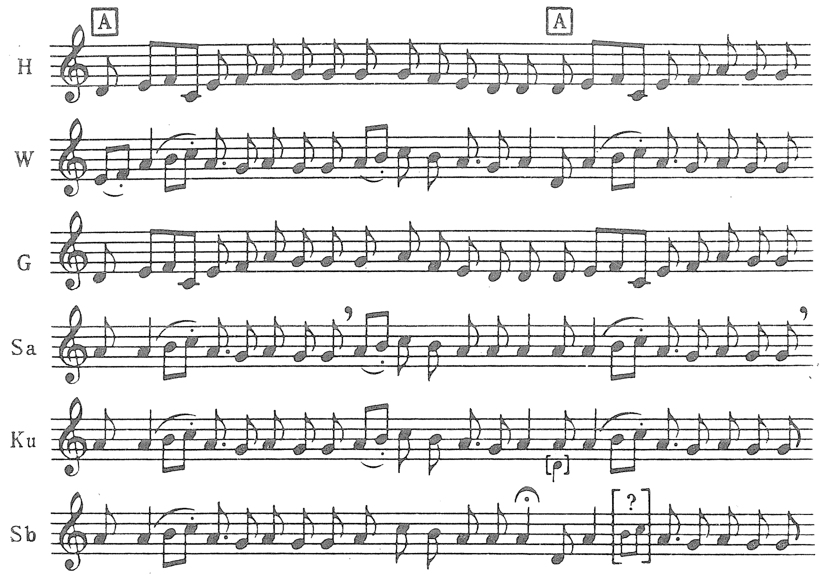
In the Slavic translation the text has the structure 8+10+19, having identical structure only for the first line and the second half of the last line. Yet in the musical notation the first two lines in Ch and No have the same melodic outline. Again the two additional syllables in the Slavic text are inserted in the middle of the line while the melody of the beginning and ending of the first two lines is identical.

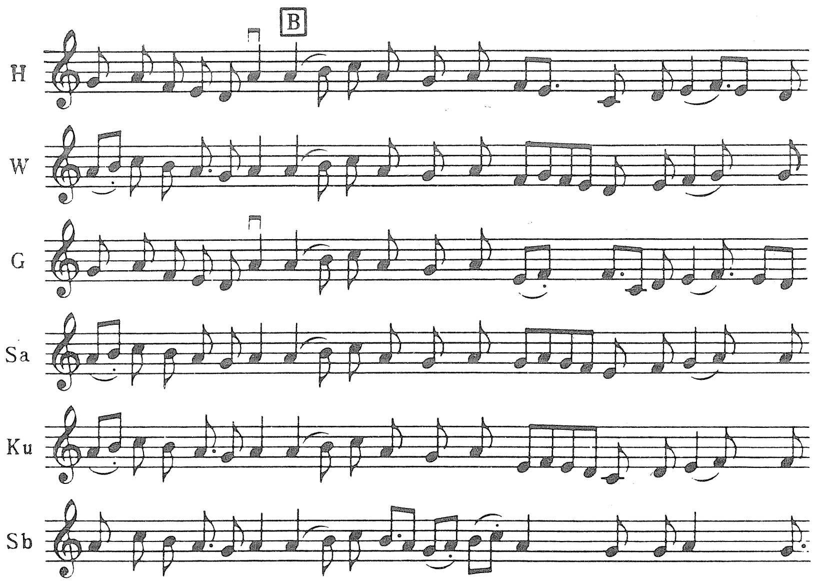
A good example of the form *AABC* is the second hirmos for ode 8 of kanon 15 in Mode I (12). The identical melody for both first lines is preserved in all of its available extant versions in H, G, W, Ku, Sa, and Sb. A modern transcription of this hirmos is given on pp. 78–9.

Although there are two melodic traditions distinctly represented in this example, the formal structure has remained the same. The slight differences in the initial notes for each line in some manuscripts do not require particular explanations, since they do not essentially change the picture of similarity in melodic outline and identity in form.

In addition to the foregoing remarks, the versions of this particular hirmos as preserved in H and G have a most interesting feature which tempts one to recognize elements of tonality in such an early example. Note that the ending tones in the lines of this hirmos are: d, a, a, d. In addition, the first half of the hirmos consists of two

(12) Cf. Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. 91.







identical melodic phrases (with the exception of the last note), and the melodic ending of the last line agrees closely with the ending of the second line in H (with the exception of the last note). This latter feature is a partial reason for the possibility of classifying this hirmos as a transition form between *AABA* and *AABC*. Yet on the point of tonal scheme, it is very tempting to label it as: Tonic, Dominant, Dominant, Tonic, or as an example of the form *AABA* with the tonal scheme *TDDT*. It is such a unique example of its kind that it deserves special mention. Should this occurrence be attributed to pure coincidence, then it is an extremely strange coincidence! If there were a question of some less known author, doubts could be raised about its form as preserved and there would be more reason to think it a coincidence. But this hirmos belongs to a kanon which according to L is attributed to Andreas of Crete, who is known to have been a master poet and author of the "Great Kanon". It is, in this writer's opinion, an outstanding example of mastery, not only in its textual structure, but in its inseparable unity of text and music and in the form of its melodic structure.

In the Slavic translation as it appears in Ch the textual structure of the lines has undergone changes and enlargement. Instead of the

13+13+12+13 syllables of the Greek text, the scheme of its lines is 19+16+15+11. It is a complete distortion of the symmetry and isosyllabic structure, and the musical notation in Ch does not warrant melodic comparisons.

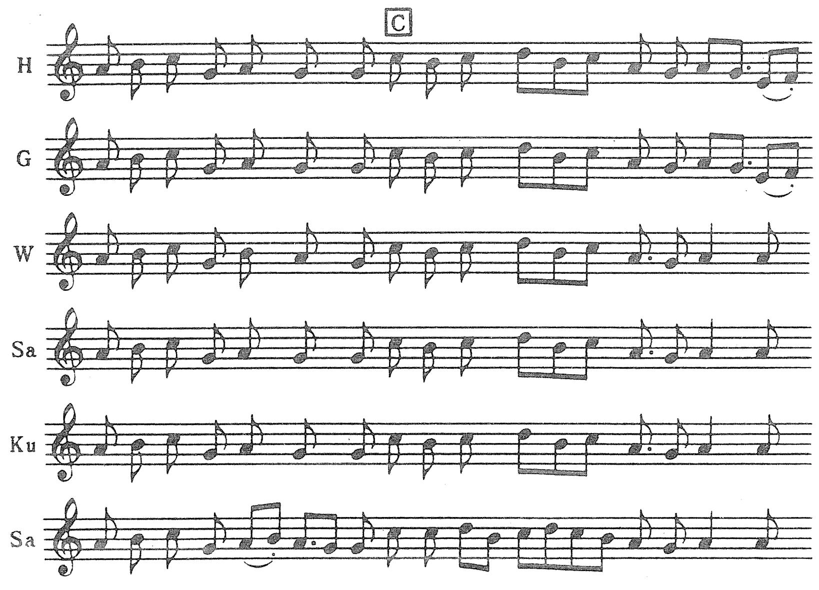
While the previous hirmos belonged to a transitional form between *AABA* and *AABC*, the first hirmos for ode 9 of kanon 18 in Mode I is a very good example of an expanded form *AABCA* (13), in which the group *BC* might, with certain limitations, be accepted as B^1B^2, in which case this form would appear even more tightly knit as AAB^1B^2A. Is it again a coincidence that this hirmos belongs to a kanon attributed to Andreas of Crete? A transcription into modern notation is given on pp. 81–2.

The musical form is again preserved in all of its extant versions. The only slight digression appears in the opening of the second line in Ku where there is a melodic variation above the first four syllables, which does not change essentially the formal structure.

In the Slavic translation the text has the structure 13+12+15+11+12 syllables, in contrast to the Greek 13+13+14+12+13. Aside from the textual differences in Ku and G, Sb and W, which do not affect the Slavic translation, there is one curious point worth mentioning concerning the text. Besides the fact that the Slavic translation followed its Greek model word for word, there is an example of following the sound in the Greek text. At the end of the last line the text in Greek reads: ὡς θεοτόκον οἱ πιστοὶ μεγαλύνομεν. In the Slavic translation the text reads: богородицю чистоу величаемъ. It is of little importance that the translation is incorrect. (The words οἱ πιστοί had been translated elsewhere as вѣрьнии, meaning the faithful). Instead of a literal translation it is highly interesting to note that the word *chistou* has been substituted, thus adding an epithet to the Virgin, for which the closest Greek might read: ἅγνε or ἄχραντε. It is most important to discern in this translation the desire to come as close as possible to the sound of the Greek text in addition to the adoption of the original melody.

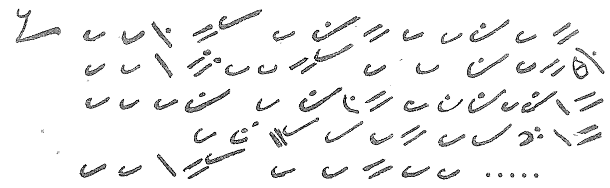
(13) Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., pp. 102–03.







The melodic structure of the Slavic version in Ch is:



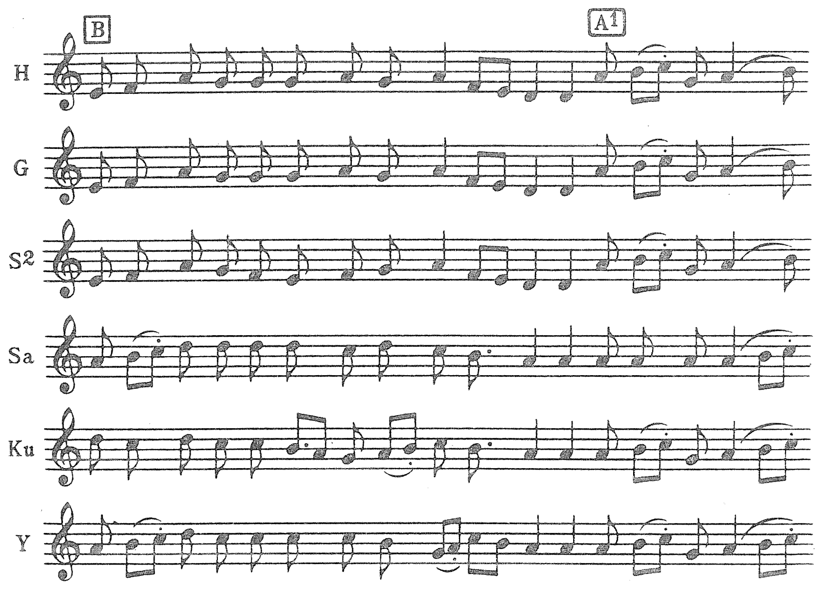
[end missing in Ms.]

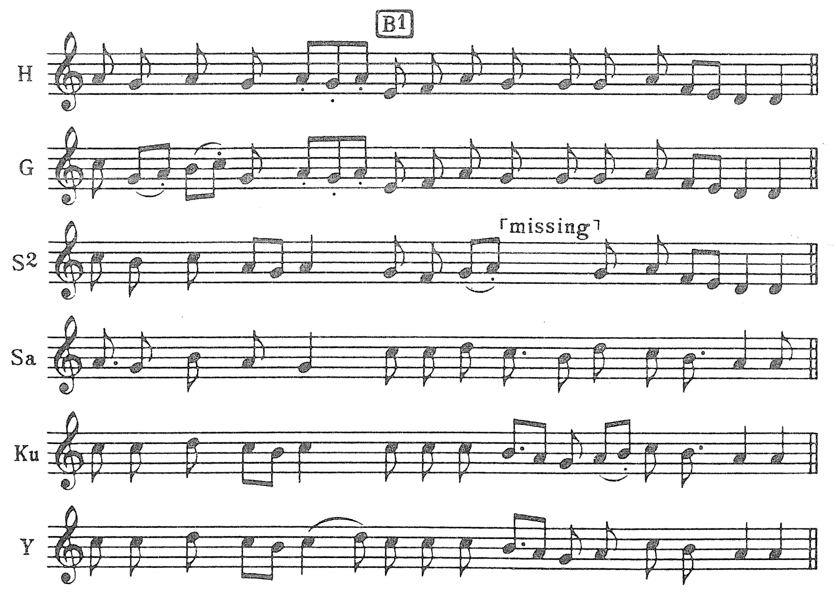
On the basis of an analysis of neumes, the melodic outline seems to have remained the same as far as *A* is concerned. The B^1B^2 section is doubtful. Even if it had changed, the form *AABCA* would have remained as another example of direct borrowing by the Slavs from their Greek models.

Among the forms which are worth mentioning, the form ABA^1B^1 has been preserved in the hirmos for ode 3 of kanon 21 in Mode I (14). The structure of the Greek text is 13+12+9+10 syllables. Because of the smaller number of syllables the repetition of the melodic phrases *A* and *B* is not identical, yet the beginnings and endings of phrases are preserved as the following example demonstrates:



(14) See Appendix I, pp. IX–X; and Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. 110.

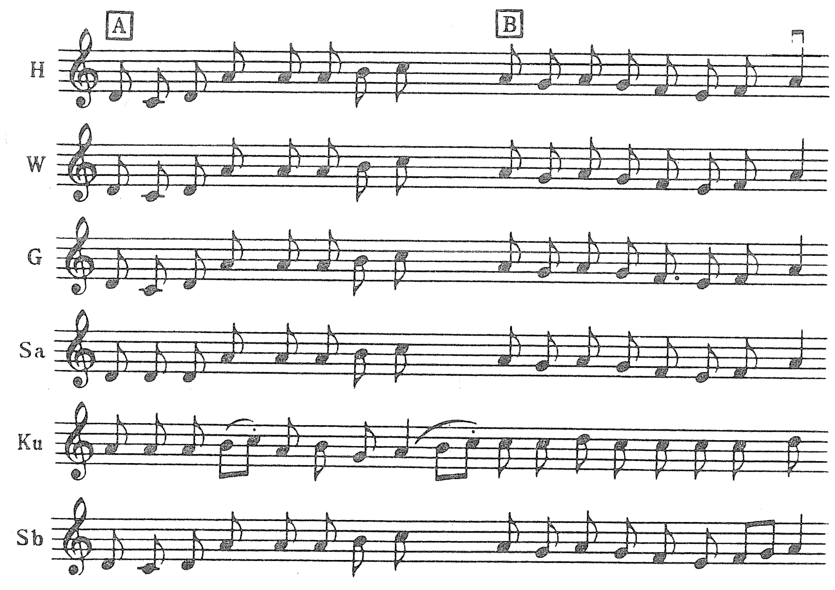




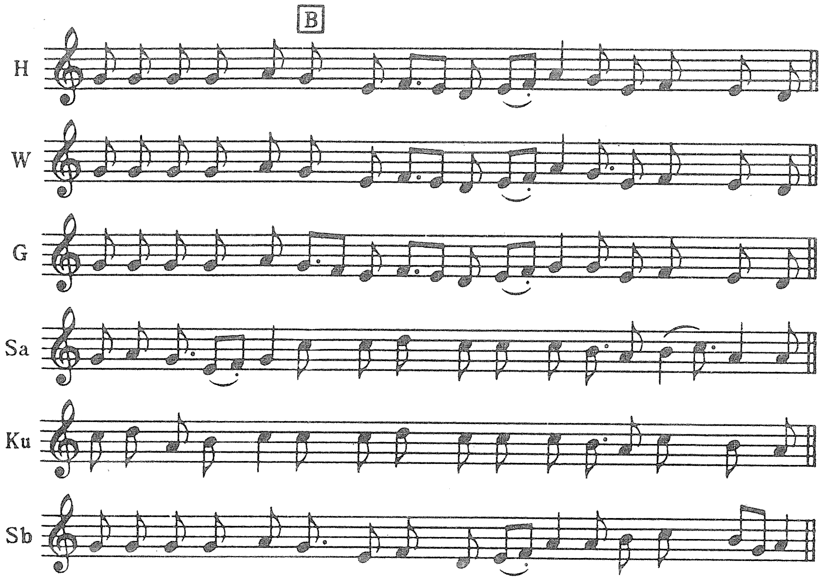
While this form remained preserved in both melodic traditions, the manuscripts S² and Y have a greater number of modifications, which set them further apart from the other manuscripts, as can be seen in their melodic outlines.

In the Slavic translation the syllabic structure became 11+13+11+12, and judging from the musical notation in Ch and No there may have been some traces of borrowing of the form. These traces, however, became faint and do not allow one to draw further parallels.

Some resemblance to the form *AB¹B²* seems to have been preserved in the version of the first hirmos for ode 8 of kanon 15 in Mode I (15), which appears in the manuscript Ku. A transcription of the melody as it appears in H, G, W, Ku, Sa, and Sb is presented here:



(15) Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. 91.



The textual structure in Greek is 8+13+11 syllables. From the transcription it may be discerned that the tune as preserved in Ku has traces of the form *ABB* especially noticeable in the beginnings of lines two and three, while the endings of the lines remind one rather of the form *AAB*.

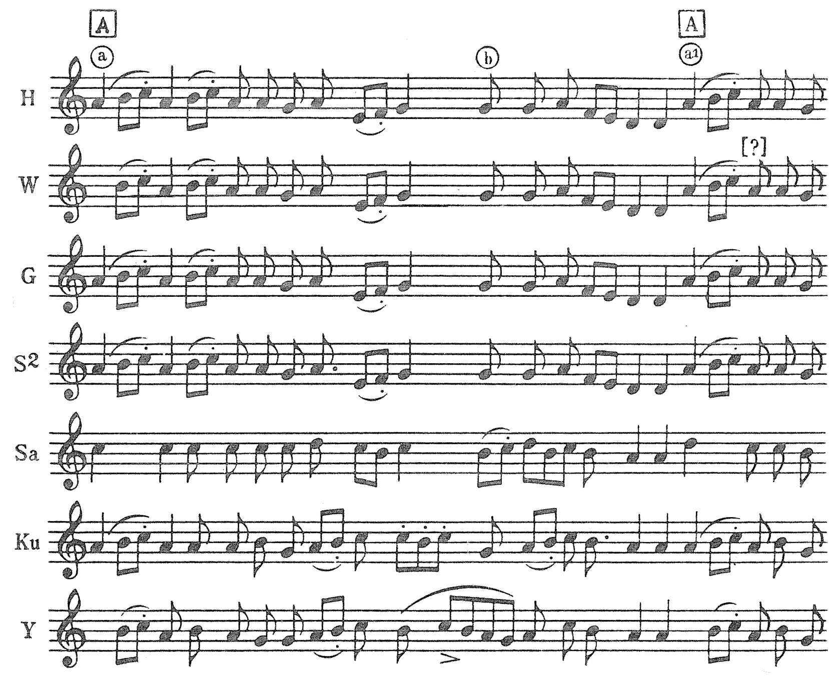
The Slavic text has 6+11+11 syllables. The musical notation, however, except for one very small section at the beginning of lines two and three does not warrant any conclusions as to the appearance of a musical form in the Slavic manuscripts.

While the hirmos for ode 6 of kanon 22 was an example of an intermediary form between *AAB* and *AABC*, and the second hirmos for ode 8 of kanon 15 was an example of an intermediary form between *AABA* and *AABC*, the first hirmos for ode 3 of kanon 15 in Mode I is a more intricate example of intertwining of parts. In its essence the form of this hirmos might be described as *AABCA*[1]. It is a more intricate structure and the relationships between some of the parts are more implied than real. Nevertheless, a few elements of relationship could be detected as the following analysis will show.

The structure of the text to begin with presents great difficulties. Its scheme would appear approximately:

9+6	15
5+8	13
7+7	14
8	8
4+6	10 which is highly irregular!

The melodic outline, however, shows a more coherent picture (16). Transcriptions from manuscripts follow:



(16) See Appendix I, pp. I–II; also Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. 88.



Lines one and two are close enough to establish the *AA* section of the musical form. Both subdivisions *a* and *b* within section *A* are also conspicuous. Variants in form between *a* and a^1 are due to the length of the text in the first line and do not affect the line as a whole. While this section has a clear structure, it is the rest that presents some difficulties. Sections *c* and c^1, if they may be so designated, appear similar in outline. This similarity is more noticeable in W, Ku, and Y than in other manuscripts.

Section *d* in H and S^2 on one side, and Ku and Y on the other, contains the germ of the melodic motion fully elaborated in the last line, e–b^1. The last part of the last line is clearly identical with the same part in the first line, but only in H, G, and W. Other manuscripts deviate from this similarity. The first part of the last line, *e*, has an upward melodic movement, which may be interpreted as a variation of the first part of section *d*. The second half of the latter is closer in its appearance to the ending of the first two lines than the last line. However, the last section, b^1, with its six syllables, repeats the second half of the first line with sufficient stress that the variant at its ending does not prevent the listener from identifying the last line as similar to the endings of the first two lines. It is on the basis of this analysis that the form:

a b
a^1 b
c c^1
d
e b^1 is obtained. In other words,

it *is* possible to reconstruct this form, although it is not readily visible in the hirmos.

The Slavic translation of the text has also an irregular structure:

10+4
5+6
5+7
8
10

The musical notation in Ch and No, as far as one can see, preserves roughly the melodic contours of the first two lines, particularly openings and endings. No other element can be clearly de-

ducted, except, perhaps some degree of similarity in the openings of *c* and c^1.

It is interesting to note again that in the seventeenth century Breslau Manuscript, this similarity between the first two lines is maintained, and the last line in that version definitely contains elements of the second line in an inverted order (in our example the note values are reduced in half) (17).



A musical form which may be approximated to ABA^1CA with a high degree of organization among its parts may be encountered in the hirmos for ode 9 of kanon 15 in Mode I (18), in the version as preserved in H and G. The same hirmos in Ku and Sb does not have this structure, although in Ku something resembling $ABCDA^1$ may be inferred.

The text in Greek has the following syllabic structure: 13+11+14+16+13, or, with a subdivision, of 6+7, 7+4, 7+7, 9+7, 7+6. The part designated as *A* shows a marked symmetry, 6+7, 7+7, 7+6. Even the inner parts *B* and *C* have an appearance of symmetry, 7+4, 9+7, with seven syllables at the ends. A full transcription of its melodic structure gives the following picture:

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(17) Koschmieder, I, p. 13.

(18) Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. 91.

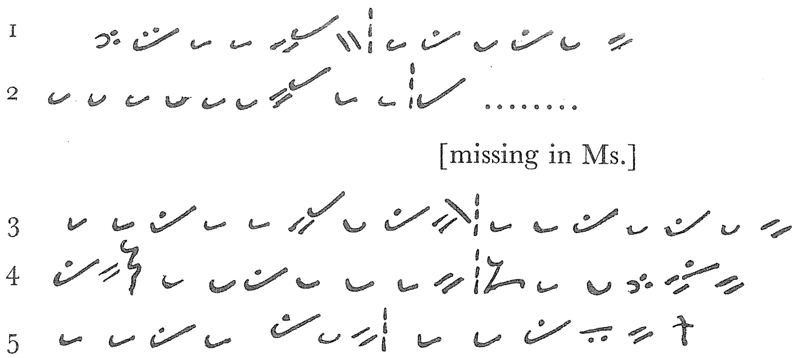




The melodic variations at the beginning of the third line do not change essentially the melodic outline of part *A*, although it has admittedly a slightly different appearance. A literal repetition of the second half of that part (marked ┌─┐), however, brings to the listener's ear an impression of reiteration of section *A*.

In the Slavic manuscript Ch, the translation of the text has a different syllabic structure with lines containing 12+13+16+15+13 syllables, or with the further subdivision, 6+6, 9+4, 9+7, 9+6, 7+6. The symmetry of the Greek model is lost, although the Slavic translation has acquired its own elements of rhythm and structural links.

The musical notation of Ch follows:



Some elements of similarity exist between the third and fifth line and the first line. In spite of the impossibility of transcription, a

visual analysis of the neumatic notation seems to give support to the assumption that in this hirmos the Slavs have taken over the formal structure of the melody. In other words this form has been noticed and although the structure of the lines of text in the Slavic translation does not come to the point of identity with its Greek model, the melody may have been adapted to the text with a certain degree of concordance with its Greek model.

The changes which make the whole melodic outline appear different are to be taken as a natural consequence in a basically oral tradition in which the written document most often serves as a reminder rather than as a handbook for learning. It is on this basis that the persistence of a form through centuries in various manuscripts should be evaluated. And under such circumstances the preservation of a musical form and its slight modifications gain in importance when compared with the numerous instances in which the musical form has completely disappeared. Viewed from such an angle, the foregoing hirmoi are remarkable examples of the strength of a tradition in an oral transmission.

The foregoing detailed analysis of the ten hirmoi does not exhaust all possibilities which may be found. This choice includes the most conspicuous examples of musical forms, some of which are known in medieval poetry of Western European countries as well. There comes particularly to mind the Minnesingers' *Stollen-Stollen-Abgesang*, which is in essence an *AAB* form.

A more detailed analysis would lead, not to conspicuous musical forms in larger outline, but to minute analysis of the musical formulae which have served as bricks in the structural building of tunes. Since such an analysis deals with details rather than with entities, this aspect is omitted from this study.

The main points raised in this discussion are the existence of musical forms in the Byzantine Chant and the problem of transfer of the musical forms when the text is translated into another language. The discussion has established that in the process of translation into the Old Church Slavonic language, the sense of form has been subject to various treatments. There are examples of literal acceptance of a musical form as well as complete neglect of it.

CHAPTER VII

THE POSSIBILITIES OF TRANSCRIPTION OF THE EARLY SLAVIC HIRMOLOGIA

a. *The neumatic notation in Slavic manuscripts.*
b. *The musical forms in Slavic hirmologia.*
c. *The melodic formulae as keys to transcription.*

One of the most important questions in the study of Slavic musical manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries concerns the possibilities for transcription of their neumatic notation. After a thorough study of the neumes, the appearance of melodic formulae and musical forms, it would seem that an answer to the question at the present time may be summarized in the following statements:

> Neumatic notation in Slavic manuscripts *cannot* be transcribed by itself. An approach combining the study of neumatic notation, melodic formulae, and musical forms may help to reconstruct and tentatively transcribe into present day notation parts of some hirmoi, yet *no* complete transcription of a whole hymn would seem to be possible at the present time. These contentions should be proven in the following discussion.

a. *The neumatic notation in Slavic manuscripts.*

The study of neumatic notation in Byzantine and Slavic musical manuscripts depends on their availability for research. For decades scholars could study manuscripts only in the libraries where they were located, or on the basis of a few photostats of a limited number of pages. It was not so long ago that Wellesz delivered his paper on Byzantine music, drawing conclusions about Manuscript H on

the basis of a few photographs only (1). Since then two of the Greek hirmologia manuscripts have become available in facsimile edition in the series *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. The resources for the study of Byzantine notation are far from being satisfactory even with the publication of manuscripts H and G. Both of these manuscripts belong to the period of Middle Byzantine notation, the former to its initial stages and the latter to its developed form. It is regrettable that Manuscript O, one of the most frequently quoted sources which has given the name to a stage in the development of neumatic notation, still remains unpublished. Reproductions from other manuscripts, except for Lg which is a fragment and which is published *in toto* (2), are still scattered in various books and periodicals which makes their analysis and quoting from them more difficult than if they were assembled within one easily accessible volume. Progress in the studies of the development of Byzantine neumes would benefit enormously if there were a kind of "Paleographical Atlas", which would facilitate the analysis and discussion of a great many points.

The study of Slavic musical manuscripts should have benefitted from the existence of such an atlas for Slavic neumes which Metallov published in 1912 (3). It is unfortunate that even with this book these studies have not progressed further. The publication in facsimile, in the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantine* series, of two Slavic manuscripts from the library of the Chilandar Monastery serves now as a powerful stimulus in that respect.

The neumatic notation in Slavic manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries has already been subject to several interpretations. Smolenskiĭ, who apparently had no knowledge of the various stages of notation in Greek manuscripts, went so far as to claim Russian origin for the Byzantine neumatic notation, of which he knew at that time only a few pages from the hirmologion in the Esphigmenu Monastery (4). Metallov claimed that the notation in

(1) Egon Wellesz, "Byzantine Music", *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 59th Session, 1932–1933 (Leeds, 1933), pp. 1–22. See p. 13. Lecture delivered on November 22, 1932.
(2) See above, p. 41, n. 12.
(3) See above, p. 28, n. 34.
(4) See above, p. 27, n. 30.

Slavic musical manuscripts developed under "Graeco-Syrian" influence independently from Constantinopolitan influence (5). Tillyard was the first among Western European scholars to call attention to the similarity between the neumatic notation in early Russian manuscripts and the stage of Byzantine notation which he designated as Coislin notation (6).

One of the tasks of this study is to determine the stage of musical notation in Ch, and on the basis of comparisons with available Greek manuscripts classify it according to a particular stage in Byzantine neumatic notation. In order to facilitate this comparative approach, Appendix II to this study is added with facsimiles from manuscripts used in the compilation of comparative charts of neumatic notation, some of which are to be found in Appendix I.

The Slavic manuscripts Ch, No, Np, and V chronologically belong to the period during which Middle Byzantine notation was being developed as a superstructure on the foundation of Early Byzantine notation. The Slavic manuscripts, however, do not contain a notation which can be identified as Middle Byzantine. In order to gain a clearer insight into the problems, it is necessary to become acquainted with some aspects of Early Byzantine notation.

In Byzantine musical manuscripts from the tenth to the fifteenth century, two different stages of notation can be discerned. From the tenth to the twelfth century the notation is known as Early Byzantine, and from the twelfth to the fifteenth century it is known as Middle Byzantine. The main difference between these two stages is that Middle Byzantine notation is precise and readable, while the Early Byzantine notation is not precise and cannot be transcribed directly into present day notation (7). Attempts have been made to penetrate into this early stage by comparing identical texts, and superimposing notation of Early and Middle stages. None of these attempts has been successful in establishing a definitive key for transcription. The crucial period when notation starts becoming readable is apparently the late twelfth century. The

(5) See above, p. 28.

(6) See above, p. 31, n. 46.

(7) H. J. W. Tillyard, *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation* ("Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae", Series "Subsidia", Vol. I, Fasc. 1, Copenhagen, 1935), p. 14.

problem which arises is to determine meaning in the Early Byzantine notation. On this particular point no agreement has been reached.

According to Wellesz exact transcription of Early Byzantine notation may be possible only if manuscripts come from the same monastery (or scriptorium) as is the case with manuscript S, in which the Early Byzantine notation is made into Middle Byzantine by a later hand (8). This manuscript is unique in that respect (9). It was originally written probably in the eleventh century. In comparison with L, which is considered to be about a century older, manuscript S contains a larger number of neumes, although it does not have notation above every syllable of the text. Some time later, apparently in the fourteenth century, additions were made in this manuscript and the notation was brought up to date. Some neumes were transformed and the manuscript was made readable in the then modern notation (10). Wellesz contends that to study such an example may be the only possible way to approach the meaning of Early Byzantine notation.

Tillyard, however, seems to believe that a comparison of *various* manuscripts containing the same texts may be used with satisfactory results. On the basis of this attitude Tillyard succeeded in establishing the *principles* underlying the Coislin notation, but his transcriptions of it are tentative and approximations only. According to Tillyard the whole period of Early Byzantine notation might be divided into three stages:

(1) the most archaic notation or Esphigmenian neumes.
(2) the Andreatic neumes (11).
(3) Coislin notation, which is also a transitional stage to Middle Byzantine notation.

Tillyard dates Coislin notation from about 1100 to 1160 A.D., whereas Andreatic notation might have lasted until 1100, while no dates are given for the Esphigmenian neumes.

(8) Egon Wellesz, "Early Byzantine Neumes", *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1952), pp. 72–76.

(9) Cf. Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. xxvii; also Tillyard, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXXVII, pp. 355–58.

(10) Tillyard, *Ibid.*; Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., pp. xxvii–xxviii, xxxvii.

(11) Tillyard, "Byzantine Music about A.D. 1100", *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXIX (1953), pp. 223–31.

In Tillyard's discussion, as well as in Høeg's description of differences among the oldest hirmologia (12), it would seem that one of the most crucial problems is the dating of the first appearance of the Ison and tracing its transformations. This neume is one of the most essential in Middle Byzantine notation, designating a tone repetition on the same pitch.

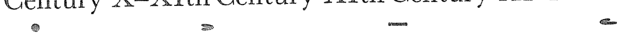
In the earliest manuscripts, L and S, and in the fragment Lg, there are no Isons. According to Høeg, a forerunner of the Ison may be the dot above some syllables. In S and H, however, there are numerous examples of the transformation of an Apostrophos into an Ison, which makes the whole problem more intricate.

Taking into account only this evidence, and to recapitulate, it would seem that at some of the earliest stages in the Early Byzantine notation, the repetition sign either did not exist or could have been understood by using either an Apostrophos or a dot.

Tillyard pointed out that prior to the Coislin notation there is a group of manuscripts with what he calls Andreatic neumes, which, although the manuscripts differ among themselves, have a sign similar to the Oligon (—) at places where later manuscripts have an Ison (13). Since the Ison appears clearly in the fragment PSg, this factor alone brings it closer to the group of manuscripts containing the Coislin notation in which a clear distinction seems to appear between the Oligon and Ison.

If one were to draw a scheme of the line of development of the Ison on the basis of these results, it might appear as:

Xth Century X–XIth Century XIth Century XI–XIIth Century



The transformation of an Apostrophos into an Ison, although unquestionably ascertained, makes the understanding of an Apostrophos quite difficult. Attempts have been made to interpret the Apostrophos differently from the accepted meaning, which is a downward movement, and to assign to it the meaning of an upward movement as well, depending on the position of the Apostrophos. Documentary evidence does not warrant such an interpretation (14). The only positive knowledge concerning the Ison is that it appears in manuscripts with Coislin notation and that from a slightly later period onwards it represents invariably a sign for repetition of the tone on the same pitch.

(12) Høeg, *The Hymns*, pp. xxiv–xxviii.

(13) Tillyard, *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXIX, p. 224. The problem of interpretation of meaning of the Early Byzantine Notation has been approached recently from a new angle by Oliver Strunk who discusses some aspects of his research in: "The Notation of the Chartres Fragment", *Annales Musicologiques*, III (1955): pp. 7–37. His results, if accepted, may represent one of the turning points in our study of Early Byzantine Notation.

The problem concerning the shape of the Ison reappears in an analysis of Slavic musical manuscripts. From the available reproductions of Slavic hirmologia, it can be seen that the sign which most closely approximates the shape of an Ison, and which most likely *is* one, in almost all instances has the shape of an inverted Apostrophos (⌣, ⌣, ⌣) which is not so far removed from its classical shape in the early manuscripts with Middle Byzantine notation, as in H.

It may be remembered from the structural analysis of the content of hirmologia that manuscripts O and H have the same content, the same order of hirmoi, and even the same size. In an analysis of musical notation these two manuscripts are found together again, yet with some substantial differences. O is the last manuscript written in Early Byzantine notation, while H is the first with Middle Byzantine notation. These characteristics, and their general agreement in content made it possible to draw quite a precise line of distinction between them. According to Wellesz (15) manuscript H has intervallic neumes which have just acquired a precise value, and another group of signs which designate execution or rhythmical features. O, on the other hand, has all of these execution and rhythmic signs, but its interval signs have not yet acquired a precise value. This differentiation is of extreme importance since it has some bearing on the analysis of Slavic manuscripts.

If one considers the basic neumes designating rhythmical changes, such as the ones for a crotchet, Diple (˜) and Dyo Apostrophoi (»), and the one for a dotted quaver, Tzakisma (⌣), and starts analyzing the neumatic notation in Slavic manuscripts,

(14) See Wellesz' refutation of Bartolomeo di Salvo's paper which was delivered in Rome in 1950, *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (1952), p. 69. Di Salvo's paper, "La Notazione Paleobizantina e la sua trascrizione", is available in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra (Roma, 25–30 Maggio 1950)* (Tournai, 1952), pp. 123–28.

(15) Wellesz, *The Musical Quarterly*, XXXVIII, p. 68.

it becomes conspicuous that these neumes recur very often in Slavic hirmologia. The rhythmical value of these neumes is determined in Middle Byzantine notation, and there are reasons for belief that they had the same value in Early Byzantine notation, since they appear at the same places in manuscripts of both periods. If, therefore, these neumes had distinct rhythmical values in Early Byzantine notation, it is most likely that they retained their values when transferred into Slavic manuscripts. This assumption is particularly strengthened by the fact that in Slavic hirmologia these same neumes reappear almost always at the very same places in the text at which they appear in Greek manuscripts, as is proven by even the most superficial glance at the comparative charts of neumatic notation in Appendix I to this study.

The first approach to notation in Slavic manuscripts thus establishes the existence of rhythmic differentiation among the neumes. A more detailed analysis of only these three neumes reveals the great number of combinations in which they may be found. The Diple, for instance, is traced in thirty-two different combinations with other neumes, while the Dyo Apostrophoi appears only in four different combinations, and the Tzakisma is traced in seven combinations. This variety of possibilities may be a sign of extreme subtlety, but when approached for purposes of transcription, it offers almost insuperable difficulties.

The Tzakisma ( ) appears in Slavic manuscripts in the same shape known from Greek manuscripts. It is encountered in a number of instances in places where it appears in Greek musical manuscripts as well, and, therefore, it may be assumed that it represents the same rhythmical value. Yet when a Tzakisma appears with a dot inside it ( ), there is no way of knowing what it may represent (16). The combinations in which the Tzakisma is found may be understood in some instances. When it is combined with a Petaste (or the like) ( ), it may be assumed to be a lengthening of a quaver. In combination with a Diple, it may perform the same function, i.e. represent a dotted crotchet (,).. One particular shape of the Diple is written almost horizontally ( )

(16) The present writer recognizes the visual similarity of this neume to the one found in Russian manuscripts of the seventeenth century, names *stopitsa s ochkom*, yet deliberately avoids any comparison with neumes in Russian manuscripts of such a late period.

instead of at an angle. Should one equate   with ? It is very likely that they are the same sign and that the difference in shape originates from the scribes. In this discussion they have been assumed to be identical. There is one instance which is of more complicated nature, when the Diple appears in combination with a neume which has some likeness to a Tzakisma, yet closer analysis proves it to be different. This is a Diple combined with a kind of angular neume ( ). This same neume appears in L and even in Ga and O (17). In manuscript H, in this particular instance, the neume is a Xeron-clasma ( ) with an Ison above it and an Apostrophos following it. This is a case which shows the relationship of the neumes in Slavic manuscripts to the Early Byzantine notation, yet their meaning is left completely out of reach, since there are no later Slavic manuscripts with which one could compare the development of neumes.

A few other rhythmical signs may be listed to show the closeness of their shapes to the Greek originals. A Diple with an Oxeia or Petaste is not uncommon (and). Neither of these presents particular difficulties. The difficulty arises when these same neumes appear with something like a Kentema in addition (and). A most curious point is that these four combinations may apparently be used interchangeably. This factor makes it impossible to understand their melodic values without the use of comparative material. Their rhythmical values most often are clear without necessarily knowing their melodic outline. The same situation may be encountered in the coupling of Dyo Apostrophoi and an Oxeia ( ), and this same combination with a Kentema ( ) (18). These rhythmical features seem to indicate particularly strongly the differentiation in *length* of some syllables and point to the relationship of this type of neumatic notation to the stresses in the solemn readings. The study of these neumes becomes thus

(17) See Appendix II to this study: the facsimiles of a page in manuscripts L, Ga, and O, the neume above the second syllable in the word ἐκάλυψεν.

(18) The combinations of an Apostrophos and an Oxeia, or an Apostrophos and a Petaste, or an Apostrophos and an Ison do not convey an easily understandable meaning. This is not to say that they may not be *tentatively* transcribed, yet a positive determination of their values seems to be impossible at this time, as their values seem to vary from one case to another.

very closely related to the study of accents in the Old Church Slavonic language. From a musical standpoint, however, it remains to determine whether this notation was able to express any melodic movement, or in other words, to find whether these neumes had any melodic qualities at all.

Neumes which designate melodic intervals *do* occur in Slavic hirmologia, yet their precise meaning escapes a fixed definition. Thus, for instance, both Hypsele and Chamele may be encountered. The Hypsele most closely approximates the shape which it has in manuscripts with Coislin notation ( ), which differs from its shape in H (most often as , rarely as). It is curious to note that the Hypsele in the Slavic material most often appears in combination with a Diple. Its recorded forms (in Ch) are: , , , , , , and . The Chamele usually appears with an Apostrophos ( ) (19). It would seem that these two neumes have similar melodic values to those which they have in Greek manuscripts with Coislin notation, which is to designate the highest and lowest tones in the ambitus of the melody without specific interval values.

Another neume, the Dyo Kentemata, may be encountered in several combinations: with an Ison ( ), with a Petaste ( ) or an Oxeia ( ), in combination with a Diple and an Oxeia ( ), or a Diple and a Petaste ( ), with an Apostrophos (, also as and) (20). It may also be placed below an Oligon (or Oxeia) ( ). In all of these instances a melodic movement upwards of two quavers may be found in some of the Greek manuscripts to justify its appearance. Yet in some instances, almost all of the comparative material would indicate a downward movement (21). It is impossible to determine at the present time whether the Dyo Kentemata once may have had both meanings, i.e. upward as well as downward movement of two quavers. It might be possible that when placed above, the melodic movement

(19) Note that in late Russian manuscripts of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the name *chamila* is applied to a neume which has a completely different shape ( ), which *never* appears in the early Slavic manuscripts.

(20) It is not impossible that the last quoted instance may be a scribe's mistake, crowding neumes for two different syllables above one.

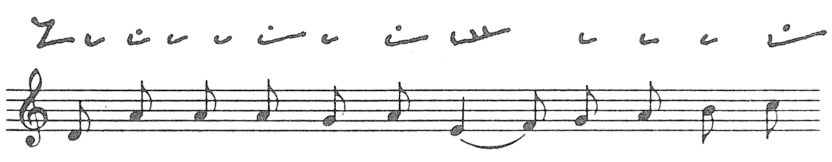
(21) See below, pp. 110 ff.

was an upward one, when placed below, a downward melody was implied. Further studies are needed for a clarification of its use in order to substantiate this hypothesis. From a study of all combinations in which Dyo Kentemata appear, the only quite clear results obtained are that when combined with a Petaste it means almost invariably a stressed upward movement, approached from a lower pitch on the preceding note, and when combined with an Apostrophos, it designates an upward melodic movement of two quavers approached from a higher pitch.

Besides these neumes which may indicate the melodic movement, it seems that there are a few neumes which may have a very different function. It is hard to say, however, what this function is. The meaning of a sign like , , e.g., which is sometimes equated with an Enarxis, and sometimes may be called Parakletike, is completely uncertain. In Slavic as well as in Greek manuscripts it may be found at the beginning of a hymn or of a verse. It is very tempting on occasion to designate it as a sign for pitch, especially since the *martyria* are missing in Slavic manuscripts. Yet there is not enough evidence available which would support such an assumption.

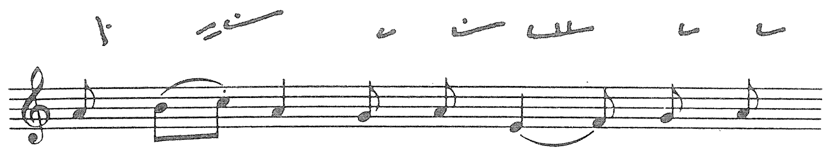
Another neume, , which in Slavic musical terminology of later centuries acquired the picturesque name of *dva v chelnu* (two in a boat), approximates in its shape a neume which may occasionally be found in manuscripts with Early Byzantine notation ( ), and which Wellesz lists as Epergema (22). In the Slavic hirmologion this sign sometimes occurs at a place where in Greek manuscripts there is a melodic movement . Note the appearance of this neume in the following examples from Ch. The transcriptions are from H as published by Høeg in *The Hymns* ....

a) hirmos for ode 7 in kanon 8, Mode I:

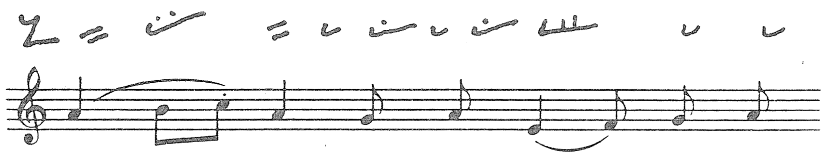


(22) Wellesz, *A History* ..., pp. 245–46.

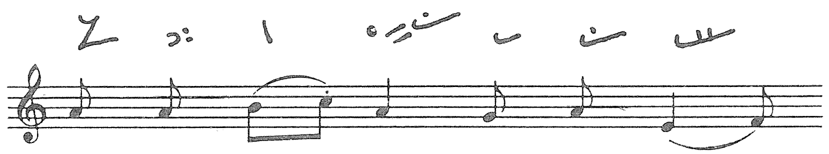
b) hirmos for ode 7 in kanon 5, Mode I:



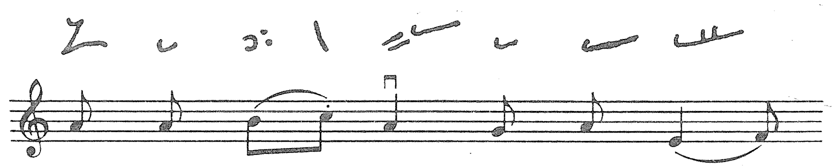
c) hirmos for ode 8, kanon 9, Mode I:



d) hirmos for ode 8, kanon 16, Mode I:



e) hirmos for ode 9, kanon 5, Mode I:



It would seem from these examples that this neume appears as a part of a melodic formula which would require additional investigation.

Instead of listing all appearances of each individual neume, the discussion of these neumes may be summarized briefly as follows:

(1) Wellesz established the principles which divide manuscripts with Coislin notation from those with Middle Byzantine notation. Both groups contain neumes which are signs for rhythm and execution. The groups differ in their intervallic signs. The manuscripts with Middle Byzantine notation have

precise intervallic values; in manuscripts with Coislin notation melodic movements are presented in a different way.

(2) With this definition as a starting point, it may be stated that Slavic musical manuscripts of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries still reflect a notation which contains the principles of Coislin notation. Its rhythmic signs are elaborate and agree in the majority with similar Greek signs. The neumes in the Slavic manuscripts have no precise interval value and there is no clue known at present as to how they may be transcribed. One of the greatest obstacles in reading the neumatic notation in Slavic manuscripts is that the meaning of the Ison is not yet understood.

As for distinguishing marks among the three Slavic hirmologia, a comparison of their appearances gives the impression that manuscript No was written by a rather inexperienced scribe. It contains unequal lines and relatively crude writing. Manuscript V fares slightly better in this comparison, since it contains ornamented letters and elaborate head ornaments at the beginnings of modes. When compared with both of these manuscripts, Ch appears to be much more attractive, since it is written with a sense for calligraphy, which is particularly noticeable in the neumatic notation. While the writers of neumes in No and V may have been either inexperienced or careless, the neumator of Ch had a skillful hand and wrote the neumes in an experienced and almost stylized manner.

b. *The musical forms in Slavic hirmologia.*

In a preceding chapter examples were given to prove the existence of musical forms in the Byzantine Chant. At the same time attention was called to the process of translation into Slavic, and it was established that in a number of instances one can find the musical form which appears in the Byzantine Chant transferred into the Slavic Chant as well. It is of importance to stress again that the existence of musical forms in the Slavic Chant was proven only by the *visual* appearance of the neumatic notation and *not* by any transcription of that Chant. This approach should be pursued hand in hand with the study of poetic forms, to which it is closely related.

Concerning the question of possibilities of transcription into present day notation, the study of musical forms is only a part of a combined approach which must cover a study of the neumatic notation and of the melodic formulae, as well as of the occurrences of musical forms. A study of forms alone remains hopeless, even if a hirmos in the appearance of its notation betrays a form similar to the one in Greek manuscripts. This fact alone does not allow a transcription nor an assumption that its melody is identical to that of the Greek model. A transcription of the neumatic notation in Slavic hirmologia still remains impossible on the basis of the similarity of musical forms alone. If the neumatic notation is imperfect and does not have the precise meaning of the interval relationship, and if the proven existence of musical forms in Slavic hirmologia cannot by themselves be of help in an attempt at transcription of this notation, it remains to study the melodic formulae in the Slavic manuscripts, since the formulae may give a key to a partial understanding of the notation, and also be an important factor in determining the musical forms.

c. *The melodic formulae as keys to transcription.*

In the chapter on melodic formulae, evidence was given concerning the flexibility of a formula. It was established that it represents a framework for a melody and that modes in the Byzantine Chant consist of strings of melodic formulae which are typical for a particular mode. Therefore, it is clear that hirmoi in Mode I contain melodic formulae which are peculiar to Mode I.

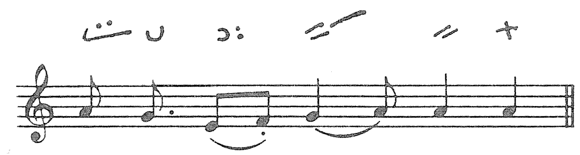
It would be reasonable to expect that the Slavs when translating the text and taking over the tunes, may have taken over the melodic formulae for each of the modes as well. The study of formulae seems to be possible even in a notation which is imperfect in designating the exact interval relationships, since the assumption is that a formula remained relatively stable (in spite of its transformations) because it was only a framework. This study is further facilitated if the notation has a relatively elaborate system of rhythmic and execution signs, which is the case with the Coislin notation, and also with the neumatic notation in Slavic musical manuscripts.

For all these reasons it seems feasible to attempt a study of melodic formulae in Slavic manuscripts, and to compare their position in

the melodic structure with the position of formulae in Greek manuscripts. If on close scrutiny the position of formulae in Greek and Slavic manuscripts agree, then and only then, one might try to ascribe definite values to a group of neumes and make an attempt at tentative transcriptions.

The hirmos for ode 5 in kanon 1 of Mode I has been cited twice before, in the discussion of melodic formulae, and in the analysis of musical forms (23). This same hirmos may serve also as a breakthrough point in an attempt at reading and understanding the neumatic notation in Slavic musical manuscripts.

It has already been ascertained that the form of this hirmos which appears in the Greek manuscripts (AABa) is preserved in Slavic manuscripts as well. It may be stated now that one of the factors which helped to establish the form is the notation of the cadential formula. If the Greek melody of this formula is written under the Slavic notation, there is a concordance in some of its aspects:

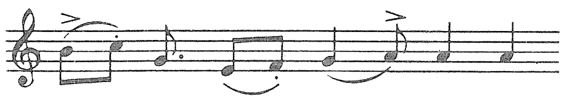


The second neume indicates a dotted note as can be seen from the corresponding group in G and in H (in the second line) (24). The third neume indicates the melodic movement of two quavers upwards, but approached from a higher pitch, usually a second higher, although a third is not impossible in this stage of Byzantine notation. The fourth neume represents the ligature of a crotchet and a quaver in an upward direction. The last two neumes are rhythmic signs only for two crotchets. This agreement may work out satisfactorily in accepting the formula and stating that this particular melodic segment of the Slavic notation may be read as the Greek melody in its present day transcription.

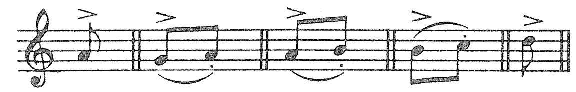
The difficulty arises, however, with the interpretation of the first

(23) See above, p. 66 and pp. 75 ff..
(24) See Appendix I, p. XXVIII f.

neume for that formula in Slavic manuscripts. The ideal transcription for the whole formula might be:



Yet the first neume of this formula appears frequently in different shapes, one of which is encountered here (25). The possibilities offered are the following:



It may represent only a stress on *a*, or it may be a sign for a melodic movement of undetermined pitch, *ga*, *ab*, *bc*, or it may even be a single note on a higher pitch than *a*, as *b*, *c*, or even *d*. All of these suggestions may offer satisfactory solutions, yet it is not known what the precise definition and transcription should be.

One feature of particular importance is that this melodic formula in the Slavic manuscripts shows a resemblance in its melodic outline to Greek manuscripts of the so-called Mount Athos group: H, O, Ga, G, and La. This particular melodic formula, for instance, appears forty times in the first fifty-one hirmoi in Ch. In thirty-eight cases the same melodic formula with its variants appears in Greek manuscripts, and among them in thirty-five cases the concordance with H takes precedence. A detailed analysis of the occurrences of this formula will follow in order to prove the point.

The formula in question or one of its variants appear on the following pages of the comparative charts of neumatic notation:

Pages in Appendix I	Slavic manuscripts agree with:	questionable:	disagree with:
I b	H, G, S_2, Ku, Y, W		
II b	H, G, Ku, Y, W		
II b – III a	H, G, W, Y		Ku
III b	Y	H, G	Ku
VI b	O, H, G		Ku, Y
VII a – b	H, Y, S_2		Ku
XII a	H, G		Ku, Y, Sa, Vb

(25) The shapes in which the first neume may appear are: .

Pages in Appendix I	Slavic manuscripts agree with:	questionable:	disagree with:
XIX a	Ku		H, G, Y
XIX b	H, G, W	Ku	
XX b	H, G, W		Ku
XXI a	H, G, W		Ku
XXIV a	H, G		Ku
XXVIII b – XXIX b, ter	O, H, G, La		Ku, Y, Sa, Sb, Vb
XXXI b	H, G, Ku, Sb		
XXXI b – XXXII a	H, G		Ku, Sb
XXXIVb–XXXVa	H, G	Sb	Ku
XXXVb–XXXVIa	H, G, W		Ku, Sb
XXXVIb	H, G, W		Ku, Sb
XXXVIIa	H, G, W		Sb
XXXVIIIb	H, G, W, S_2	Ku, Sb	
XLa	H, G	Sb	Ku
XLVa	H, G	Ku, Sb	
XLVIIIa	H, G, W, S_2		Ku
XLIXa–b	H, G		Ku, Sb
LIIa	H, G, W, Ku, Sb		
LIIIb	H, G, W		Ku, Sb
LIVa	H, G, W	Ku, Sb	
LVa	W	H, G, Sb	Ku
LVIIa	H, G, W, Ku, Sb		
LXIa			O, H, G, La, Sa, Sb Ku, Vb, Y
LXIIIa–b	H, G		Ku, Sb
LXVIIa–b	H, G, W		Ku
LXVIIIa–b	H, G, W		Ku
LXXb	H, G, Sb, Ku		
LXXIb– LXXIIa, bis	H, G		Ku, Sb
LXXIIb	H, G, Sb, Ku		

This analysis is most revealing since it indicates several important points. In the first place it clearly demonstrates that the Greek manuscripts have preserved essentially two melodic traditions. These two traditions have a significant number of divergences and often completely different melodies. In some instances, however, they agree in the melodic outline. The list of 'agreements' shows this fact very convincingly.

The agreement of the melodic formula in Slavic and Greek

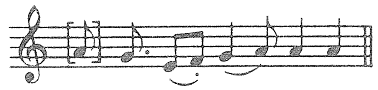
manuscripts runs contrary to what might have been expected on the basis of previous findings concerning particularly the structure of Slavic manuscripts and the textual differences between them and their Greek models. The results have been pointing towards the influence of manuscripts supposedly written in Palestine. The appearance of a melodic outline in Slavic manuscripts similar to the one which appears in manuscripts written on or around Mount Athos strengthens the hypothesis of a merger of influences in Russia, yet it makes an understanding of this merging more difficult.

The second point of interest in the preceding list is the number of instances in which all manuscripts agree in the melodic outline of the formula, and also the number of instances in which the extant musical notation preserves a form which is neither in concordance nor in complete disagreement. In other words, these may be a corrupted version of this formula in which some pertinent element still exist, though rather far removed from the original, but still not representing an entirely different melodic tradition. From an over-all knowledge of the manuscripts, it would seem that in such transition cases the manuscript Sb appears to be closer to the melodic tradition of Mount Athos than Ku, which is an interesting point to note.

Finally, it is also extremely curious, and puzzling as well, that there are two instances in which W, respectively Y, is the only manuscript which has preserved the melodic outline of the formula in an "uncorrupted" version, while all others contain a variant of the formula (26) or a completely different melody. This feature, purely theoretically speaking, might have been important in determining the origin of the model for Slavic manuscripts were it not that both of these manuscripts are of a later date and do not regularly show such concordance.

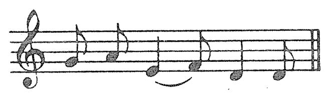
To sum up the discussion concerning this particular melodic formula, it seems not only a plausible interpretation but a completely justified possibility to accept the hypothesis that in the Slavic musical manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the formula under discussion should be transcribed into modern notation as:

(26) See above, pp. 108–9. Also Appendix I, pp. IIIb and LVa. The notation of Y is missing in the charts, but this writer has examined all relevant examples in Y.



It goes without saying that the interpretation of the first neume is dependent on the comparative Greek material, in view of the fact that the neumatic notation at that stage did not determine the exact pitch.

In the one case in which we have listed agreement between the notation in the Slavic manuscripts and no other Greek manuscript than W, Manuscript H has a different melodic outline. If, for purposes of convenience, the formula transcribed above is designated as Cadence I, this particular melody in H might be designated as Cadence II:

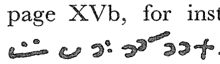


While the notation in the Byzantine sources has the following form  the Slavic counterpart seems to be  (26a).

The important point for this discussion, however, is the appearance of the notation of Cadence II. The melodic formula of Cadence II appears seventeen different times within the analyzed material. In the majority of cases it agrees with the simultaneous appearance of the following melody in H and related manuscripts:

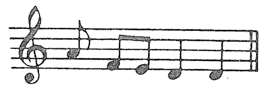


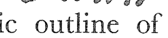
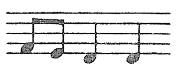
A more detailed analysis reveals that, as in the case of Cadence I, the basic melodic formula appears with several variants.

(26a) In some cases the Slavic MSS do not offer the same cadence. On page XVb, for instance, we read in No , where Ch has . In this instance the melody in H, being close to Cadence II, bears witness of closer agreement between H and Ch than between H and No.

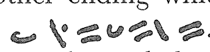
There are also a few instances of conspicuous discrepancies, in which cases some of the manuscripts contain Cadence I instead of Cadence II (27), and also a melodic type occurs which for further study may be designated as Cadence III (28). Division of Greek manuscripts, in the case of Cadence II, corresponds roughly to that which appears in the above list. There are only two notable exceptions. In both cases Sb joins the group of H and related manuscripts, while Ku shows the same melody in only one instance (29).

Cadence III, of which the melodic outline is:



appears to be related to Cadence II, but with a different rhythmic and melodic progression on the third neume from the end. It occurs eighteen times in the analyzed Slavic material with an overwhelming concordance with the same melodic outline in Greek manuscripts. Its most frequently encountered notation is . The first neume depends, however, on the melodic outline of the preceding part and therefore may appear in different relationships, as  or . The essential ending of the formula,  is preserved in all instances.

A kind of transition between Cadences II and III seems to be a formula () which has been encountered only three times (30). In two of the three instances, the melody in H and related manuscripts is that of Cadence III. Sb agrees in one case, while Ku agrees in another case with this melody.

Still another ending which may be called Cadence IV may be discerned: . It appears thirteen times only and in four instances the melody in Greek manuscripts is either that of

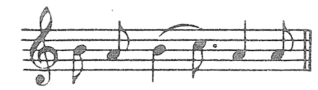
(27) See Appendix I, p. LXXa. W has Cadence I, while H and G have Cadence II. On p. LXXIIIb H and G have Cadence I, while Sb has Cadence II.

(28) See Appendix I, p. LIIa.

(29) See hirmos for ode 7 of kanon 17 in Mode I.

(30) See Appendix I, pp. XXVa–b (?), LVIIIb and LIXa.

Cadence I or II or both (31). In the remaining nine instances there is no uniformity. It seems, however, that the melody:

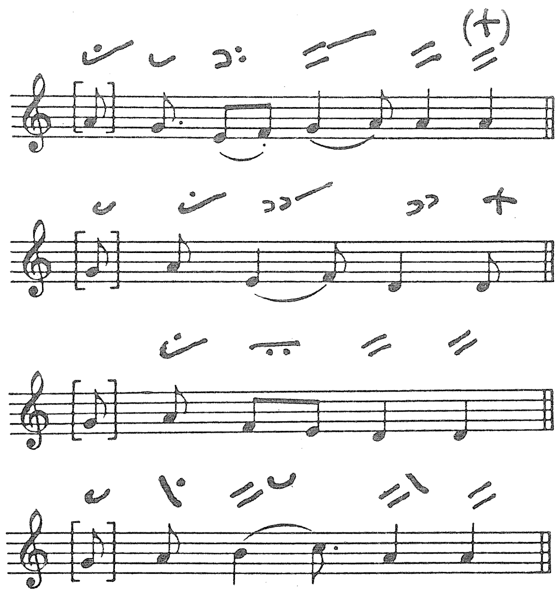


may be acceptable as a transcription of this particular melodic formula.

On the basis of the preceding analysis and discussion of the four most frequently encountered cadential formulae, it would seem that the following suggestions may be made:

(a) The frequency with which cadential formulae appear in Slavic manuscripts, and their concordance with melodies in Greek manuscripts, preeminently with H and related manuscripts, justify an attempt at their transcription.

(b) The cadential melodic formulae in Slavic manuscripts may be transcribed tentatively:



The total number of appearances of these formulae exceeds

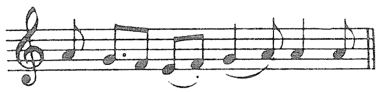
(31) As an example of the appearance of several endings together, see Appendix I, p. XLVIb-XLVIIa: H and G have Cadence II, and Sb has Cadence I. Ch has perhaps Cadence IV.

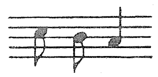
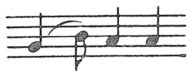
ninety melodic endings of either verses or hirmoi. The high degree of concordance with corresponding cadences in Greek manuscripts corroborates the thesis that in the process of translation of Church books into Slavic the melodies of the hirmoi were accepted as well. Discrepancies, which are inevitable in such a process, suggest also that in some instances, in which a particular formula did not fit with the Slavic text, an interchange of melodic formulae may have taken place. This assumption may make understandable the occurrence of Cadence I or II in Greek manuscripts in places where Slavic manuscripts use Cadence IV instead, as well as other instances of interchange of cadences.

This idea of substitution of cadences is derived from observations during the analysis and transcription of hirmoi in Greek manuscripts. It may be noticed that in a great number of instances, while H would have the formula



manuscript G would almost always contain the inserted f′ bridging the leap of the downward third:

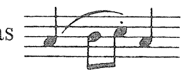


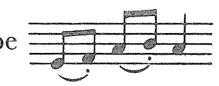
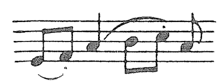
This feature appears so frequently that one may speak about the typical signs which distinguish one manuscript from another. Ku, for instance, together with Sa most often has the ending , while the ending  is a typical feature of Sb.

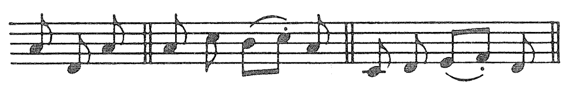
The initial formulae have been mentioned in the chapter on formulae, and some of them were discussed in the chapter on musical forms (32). The Chilandar Hirmologion contains a rather surprising variety of combinations of neumes as the *initium* of hirmoi, which is even more puzzling than its relative simplicity as far as cadential formulae are concerned. The main obstacle to an

(32) See above, pp. 64 ff. and 74 f.

understanding of the initial formula in Slavic manuscripts is the use of a neume called Parakletike (). In comparison with initial formulae in Greek manuscripts, no definite impression can be obtained about its value. There are two initial formulae which could be extracted for purposes of analysis, but even these two are not completely convincing.

The *initium* of the first hirmos in Ch consists of  This formula is traced in four more instances among the seventy-five hirmoi of the Mode I. In four out of five instances, Greek manuscripts are transcribed as , which might be a reasonable transcription for this group of neumes in Ch also. In one instance it occurs in a hirmos for which no Greek model is found, and it may be tentatively assumed that its melodic beginning is the same.

Another initial formula is  It has been traced in a dozen instances. Yet in the comparative Greek material there are various melodies which appear as its counterpart. The most plausible interpretation of this group of neumes seems to be , which is traced in a total of seven instances (33). In three cases the Greek manuscripts contain  as its counterpart, but different melodies, such as



may be found too. The problem to be solved then is whether a uniform transcription may be accepted for this group of neumes. If so, then an explanation is needed for the discrepancies in melodic outlines. The most plausible interpretation seems to be that, as in some instances concerning the cadential formulae, an interchange

(33) See Appendix I, pp. XIVa (bis), XLVIIb (bis), LVIIIb, and the hirmos for ode 9 of kanon 15, Mode I (bis), quoted in the chapter on musical forms.

of initial formulae may have taken place. A justification for this might be the difficulty of fitting the stresses within a new language into the same places in the melody used for the original language. This question thus remains an enigma. The two formulae mentioned above are the only ones for which some kind of transcription may be suggested with a certain degree of reason.

In an attempt at transcription of these two formulae, everything depends on their comparative material. It seems that a transcription  may be acceptable for the first initial formula () if this same melodic outline appears in some Greek manuscript at the same place. With this same limitation, a tentative transcription  seems to be a reasonable meaning for the group of neumes  if the comparative material contains this melodic beginning. If, however, no Greek manuscript contains anything similar in its melodic outline, the transcription of even these two initial formulae is open for discussion and nothing positive can be ascertained for their meaning.

The sum of the discussion of both cadential and initial formulae, as well as of the imperfect notation in Slavic manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, leads to the following conclusions:

(a) A complete transcription of melodies in Slavic musical manuscripts is impossible, the main obstacle being the enigmatic meaning of the Ison, which might designate a melodically unaccented syllable. This assumption cannot be proven before a comparative analysis is made of accents in both languages, yet it seems a plausible explanation for the occasional long series of Isons in Slavic manuscripts, which if transcribed as the same note would make a very monotonous "reading" on the same pitch (34).

(b) Partial transcription of cadential formulae in Slavic manuscripts seems possible. There are reasons for belief that four different cadential formulae may be established and transcribed into present day notation.

(c) The transcription of initial formulae is restricted to the partial understanding of only two. Their transcription cannot be accepted if Greek manuscripts cannot support their melodic outline.

(d) The identity of Mode I in Slavic manuscripts with Mode I in Greek manuscripts being totally established, it may be assumed that the whole system of Slavic *glasi* corresponds to that of the Greek *echoi*.

(34) When this was written I had not seen the article by Carsten Høeg, "Ein Buch altrussischer Kirchengesänge", *Zeitschr. f. slav. Philol.*, XXV (1956), pp. 261-84, in which he came to similar conclusions.

With these conclusions in mind, a few concrete examples may be given to prove the point concerning the partial transcription. As the first example, discussion of the possible transcription of the hirmos of ode 1 of kanon 6 in Mode I follows. This is one of the most often quoted examples in presentations of Byzantine music. This hirmos is extant only in V of all three Slavic hirmologia, and a "facsimile" of it was given by Thibaut, which Tillyard then tentatively transcribed in 1921. Tillyard's transcription (34a) of thirty-five year ago runs as follows:

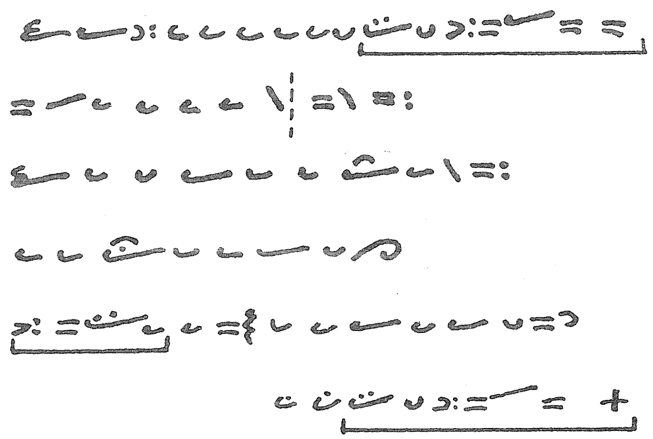


(34a) Tillyard, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLI, p. 42. Thibaut's facsimile is pl. VIII in his *Origine byzantine de la notation neumatique de l'Eglise latine* (Paris, 1907). — The Greek equivalent is Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα.



This attempt at transcription, at a time when the knowledge of Byzantine music was restricted to a few men, deserves mention and admiration, although it is faulty from the present day knowledge of this material.

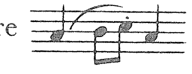
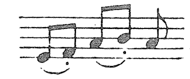
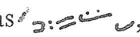
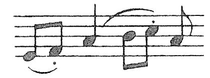
The neumatic notation in V for this hirmos follows:



An analysis of the notation at the end of the first line and at the end of the last line reveals the presence of the cadential formula designated in previous discussions as Cadence I. If one accepts the transcription suggested for this formula by the present writer, then at these two places Tillyard's transcription is inaccurate.

If one compares these same places in Wellesz' transcriptions of

this hirmos from three different Greek manuscripts (35), the identity of the suggested transcription with his transcription of the melody from H is obvious at the first glance.

Another interesting point is the meaning of one of the initial formulae. If one combines the formulae discussed earlier,  and , of which the tentative transcriptions are  and , and encounters an initial formula which appears as , it might be reasonable to assume that its meaning might approximate . This group of neumes stands here above the word *khristos*, and if one turns to the Greek melody as transcribed by Wellesz, the melody we have just suggested appears above the same word in H.

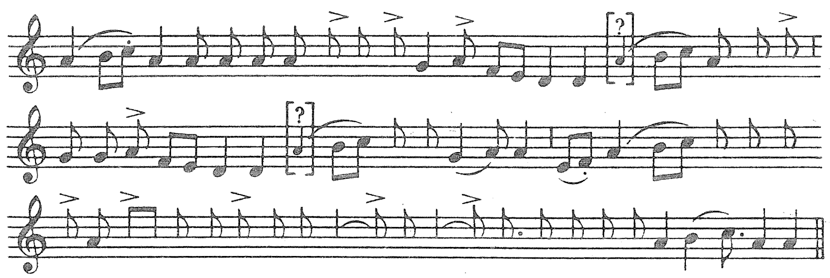
The present writer would not venture to transcribe this hirmos *in toto*, but only suggests possible transcriptions for those sections for which some tangible proof has already been found in an analysis of a vast body of hirmoi. The results obtained in an analysis of Ch received startling proof when applied to another manuscript (V). In addition to this, a few more examples may illustrate the validity of these tentative conclusions.

The first hirmos in Ch for ode 3 of kanon 15 may serve as a good example (36). The initial formula in Slavic manuscripts corresponds to the melodic opening in H, G, Ku, and S². In manuscripts W and Y a variant of this formula is used, while in Sa there is a different beginning. The end of the first line in Ch has a formula in neumatic notation previously designated as Cadence III. It may be found in H, W, G, and S². In manuscripts Ku, Y, and Sa there is a different ending. Between these two formulae in all Greek manuscripts except Sa, there is an undulating melody. In Slavic manuscripts after the initial formula there is a series of Isons interrupted by stresses and one rhythmical lengthening. The latter corresponds to the same lengthening in Greek

(35) Wellesz, *A History* ..., pp. 186–87.
(36) See Appendix I, pp. I–III.

manuscripts, and the stresses preceding it have a counterpart in H, W, and G. This is as far as the similarity may be traced. Strangely enough, in the Russian versions of this same hirmos of later centuries, after the initial formula there *is* a series of notes on the same pitch (37), which would partially corroborate a possible interpretation of neumes in Early Slavic hirmologia. This partial concordance ends there, since no other part of the later versions shows any similarity, except for the disposition of rhythmical lengthenings at the ends of lines.

A similar series of Isons appears in the last melodic phrase, yet in that instance only manuscripts Ku, Sa, and Y have some similar repetitions of the tone, while later Russian versions have fairly elaborate melodies, and do not agree with Early Slavic hirmologia. With all these results in mind, the following example is submitted as a suggestion for the tentative transcription of this hirmos as it appears in Ch and No. Only a few parts are transcribed into present day notation, while for a number of neumes only rhythmic indication and accent marks are given, without designating the pitch. This is as far as the present writer feels justified in going with this attempt.



Another example is of a strikingly different nature. It is the hirmos for ode 6 of kanon 22, which was discussed previously in the chapter on forms (38). If a series of transcriptions from five different Greek manuscripts (in one instance two variant melodies in Sa) is compared with notation in Slavic manuscripts, it becomes conspicuous that all rhythmic features in Slavic notation are identical to the neumes in W, in addition to the final cadence, which is

(37) Koschmieder, I, p. 13.

(38) See Appendix I, pp. LIVb–LVa, and above pp. 76ff.

in W the only one which agrees with the notation of Cadence I discussed previously. While no transcription seems to be feasible at present, the identity in rhythm with W is noteworthy as can be seen in the following example (39):



(39) Manuscript Sa has two different melodic versions on folios 18v and 21r, indicated here as Sa^1 and Sa^2. For the melody in H see Høeg, *The Hymns* ..., p. 114.

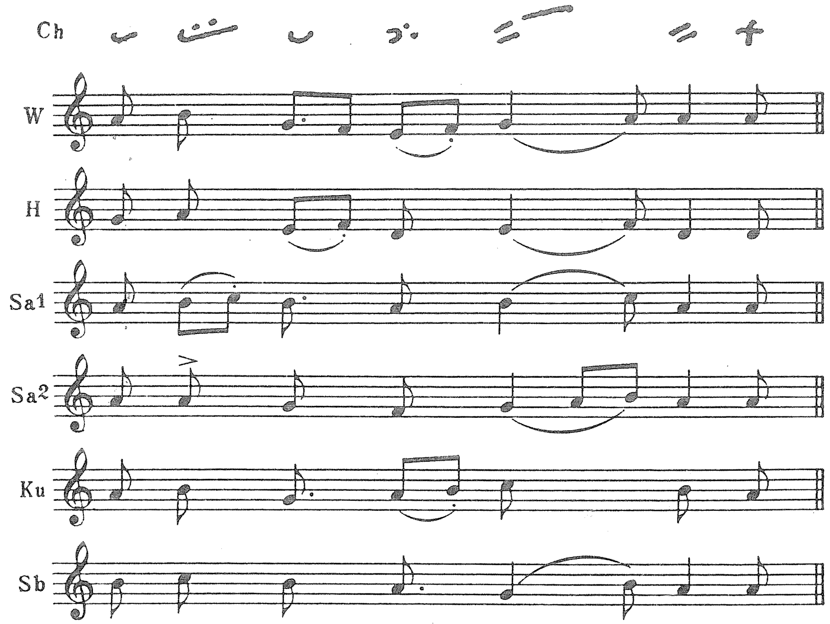
A



B



C



These three examples have demonstrated the principles of the possibility of partial transcription of melodies in Slavic hirmologia of the Middle Ages. It seems that on this basis a transcription with indication of rhythmical values may be attempted, whereas only cadential melodic formulae may be tentatively transcribed into present day notation. Inasmuch as this suggestion represents progress in approaching the musical notation in Early Slavic manuscripts, it is only the beginning of a more detailed analysis which should attempt to trace the development of these melodies and rhythmic divisions in later Slavic manuscripts. Only in this way may one, perhaps, reconstruct the line of growth of the Slavic Chant, which after having fulfilled its function, has given way to polyphonic singing.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

From the moment when the two Slavic manuscripts were rediscovered in the library of the Serbian Monastery Chilandar on Mount Athos, and throughout the processes of study and preparation for publication in facsimile, one basic question has persisted: *is it possible to read and transcribe into modern notation the neumes in these Slavic manuscripts?* As far as the Hirmologion is concerned one may now answer that *some* of the neumes may be transcribed into present day notation *provided* that they appear in a certain order, at a particular place within a hirmos and that the Greek comparative material offers support for these tentative transcriptions.

These attempts at transcription presuppose an understanding of a number of related problems. A systematic presentation of these problems will at the same time be a summary of this study and bring together the conclusions reached in the step-by-step procedure followed in this research.

For the Slavs the acceptance of Christianity from the Greeks represents the beginning of literacy and the advent of literature. The need for church books led to very active work on translations from the Greek. In this process the Slavs copied faithfully the neumatic notation found above the texts which were to be sung during the services. The translations were not always exact replicas of the Greek original and Slavic texts are sometimes shorter or longer than the Greek. When copying the neumatic notation above such texts the Slavs endeavored to retain the basic stresses and melodic inflexions at about the same places where they appeared in the original. The percentage of such successful adaptations is very large and impressive.

The order of hirmoi in the extant Slavic hirmologia is the order of odes. It has been established by this study that up to the fourteenth century this particular order of hirmoi was used in a relatively small area. The territory of the Holy Land including Mount Sinai accepted this order, while the Constantinopolitan domains, including Mount Athos and outposts in Italy, preferred the arrangement of hirmoi according to kanons. The conclusion which imposed itself was that the Slavs accepted the Palestinian order of hirmoi in the hirmologia. A more detailed analysis of the content of hirmologia revealed the presence of a number of hirmoi which were not located in any of the available manuscripts ascribed to the Palestinian traditions. In such cases the corresponding Greek equivalent for each hirmos was located almost invariably in manuscripts of the KaO type, and curiously enough in the oldest of the manuscripts with that order. Such a dichotomy in questions concerning the origin of a manuscript (or better, manuscripts) which may have served as model for translation by the Slavs led to a new investigation of Slavic contacts with the Holy Land and with Mount Athos. Although no startling results have been obtained, one important point emerges, that the Russian contacts with the Holy Land were much more meaningful than has been generally assumed. The contacts with Constantinople were extensive and it is recorded that the first monastic community in Russia had contacts with the Studios Monastery in Constantinople.

The Chilandar Hirmologion is the only one of the known Slavic hirmologia of that early date to contain two hirmoi from a kanon ascribed to Theodore the Studite. Significantly enough, the Greek text of that particular kanon was located in two of the oldest manuscripts, L and the fragment Lg. Further study established that even in the Studios Monastery the kanons were arranged according to practices prevalent in Jerusalem, especially in the Monastery of St. Sabas (1). The conclusion reached on the basis of this evidence is that it is very likely that even within the walls of Constantinople two different traditions may have existed side by side. Additional studies are needed to determine the extent of differences and simi-

(1) As seen in the Slavic menaia of the twelfth century, based on practice in the Studios Monastery. Cf. Archbishop Sergei Spasskiĭ, *Polnyi Miesiatseslov Vostoka*, I: *Vostochnaia agiologiia* (2d ed., Vladimir, 1901), p. 209, n. 2.

larities between the practices of the Studios Monastery and the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate.

Manuscript L gains in significance after a comparative analysis of texts and variants as they appear in Slavic translation. In a number of instances only L provides the Greek text (2) which was the model for the literal Slavic translation.

The study of the neumatic notation in Slavic hirmologia was approached on three different levels. In the first place the neumes were studied to determine their individual values. In this respect the only conclusion that could be obtained from the available material was that the Slavs accepted and copied a stage of the *Coislin* notation. While the meaning of the rhythmic values of this notation is certain, the melodic values are not. Any attempts at transcription will have to remain tentative and can be obtained only by inference and a comparison with the chronologically next stage of neumatic notation which can be confidently transcribed. Thus a study of the notation alone does not yield any positive results.

A slightly different method is to study the structure of each hirmos as a whole and the relationship between the text and the music. This approach lead to the discovery of a substantial number of musical forms in the Greek models used by the Slavs. The existence of musical forms, although suspected, was never before satisfactorily analyzed. As for the texts in Slavic manuscripts, it has not been possible to establish which factors determined whether or not a musical form was to be followed.

Finally, a combination of the two preceding methods offered most satisfactory results. A number of neumes arranged in a particular sequence constitutes a melodic formula, which seems to have been a very useful tool in an essentially oral tradition not cognizant of immutable compositions. The formula provided a framework within which there was sufficient freedom for each individual performer to embellish a melody or to adapt it to the tastes and tradition of a community.

It has been possible to establish that within Mode I there are four cadential melodic formulae which have been traced in both

(2) The kanon by Theodore the Studite in Mode III, and several examples discussed in the chapter about translation of texts.

Greek and Slavic manuscripts. Furthermore, at least two initial melodic formulae have been traced, as well as one which seems to have served as a transitional formula. These melodic formulae in Slavic manuscripts can now be transcribed with certainty. This fact does not mean that any hirmos may yet be transcribed in its entirety.

As for the appearance of melodic formulae in Greek manuscripts, it should be pointed out that contrary to expectations the formulae located in Slavic manuscripts do not appear in Greek manuscripts of the OdO type. In an overwhelmingly large number of instances the melodic formulae in Slavic hirmologia coincided with the formulae in manuscripts of the KaO type. This fact coupled with the Palestinian order of hirmoi in Slavic manuscripts obviously points to a merger of influences which must have taken place in the early stages of Christianity in Russia. These conclusions may be summed up as follows:

(1) The Slavs were acquainted with the contents of both types of hirmologia, the one used in Palestine (from which they accepted the order of hirmoi) and the one used on Mount Athos (from which they borrowed a number of individual hirmoi, and even more important, the melodic formulae).
(2) In the process of adaptation the Greek modes were retained in the Slavic Chant.
(3) The neumatic notation copied by the Slavs is definitely of Byzantine origin and represents an early stage of Coislin notation.
(4) In some instances Slavs took over musical forms appearing in the Byzantine Chant. There is no consistency in this process.
(5) A number of melodic formulae of Mode I are identical in both Greek and Slavic Chants. On the basis of their identity it is possible to transcribe parts of medieval Slavic manuscripts for the first time.

These results are by no means final conclusions in this field, but rather they are first steps into a new branch of Byzantine musicology.

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